UNITED NATIONS WORLD

OCTOBER 1947 • PRICE 35 CENTS

SPECIAL GENERAL ASSEMBLY ISSUE

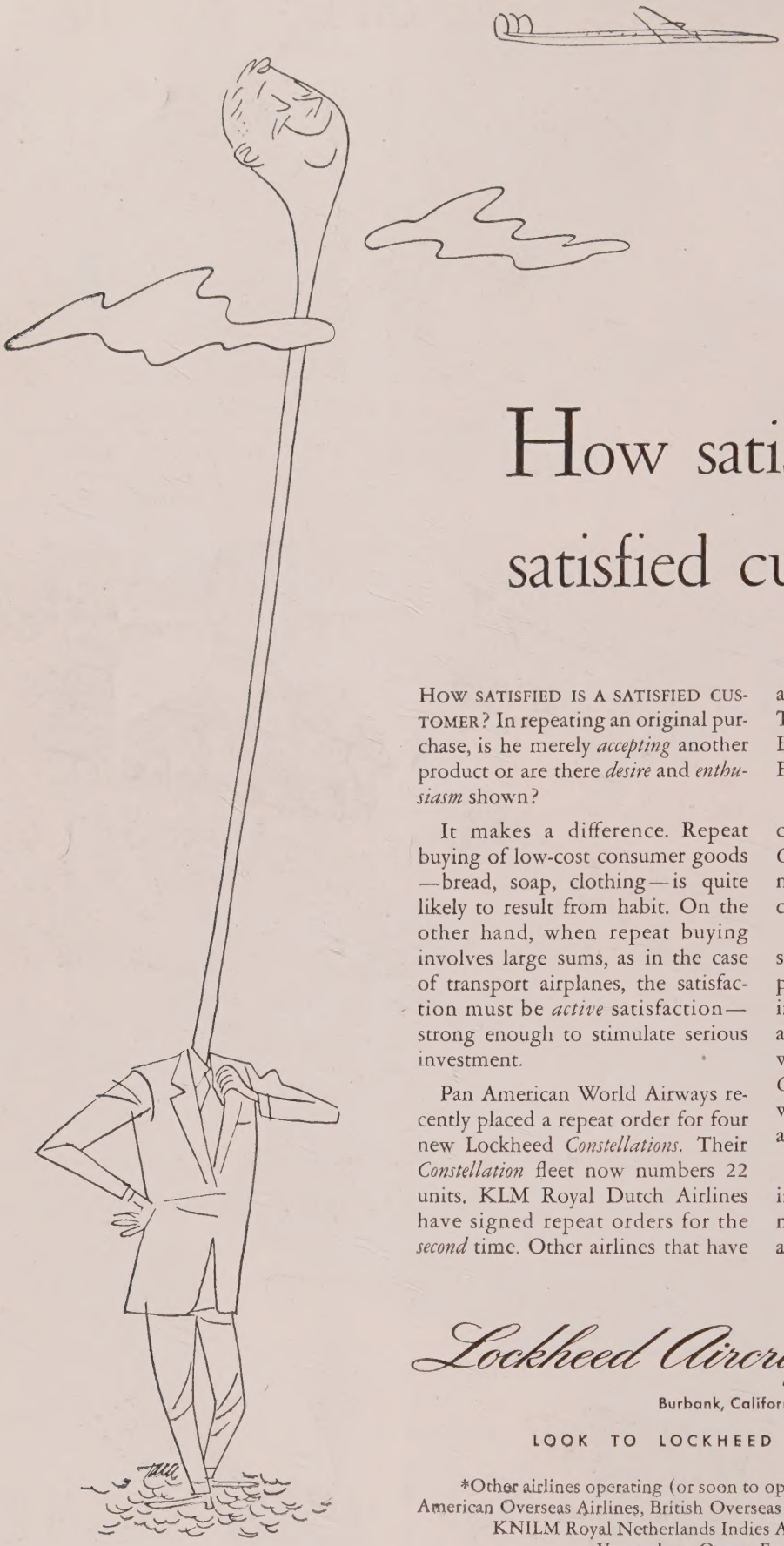
UN

KNOW ONE ANOTHER

UNDERSTAND ONE ANOTHER

COOPERATE

COVER BY FRENCH ARTIST GABRIELLE BESSIS IS ONE OF PRIZE-WINNING ENTRIES IN THE UN POSTER COMPETITION



How satisfied is a satisfied customer?

HOW SATISFIED IS A SATISFIED CUSTOMER? In repeating an original purchase, is he merely *accepting* another product or are there *desire* and *enthusiasm* shown?

It makes a difference. Repeat buying of low-cost consumer goods —bread, soap, clothing—is quite likely to result from habit. On the other hand, when repeat buying involves large sums, as in the case of transport airplanes, the satisfaction must be *active* satisfaction—strong enough to stimulate serious investment.

Pan American World Airways recently placed a repeat order for four new Lockheed *Constellations.* Their *Constellation* fleet now numbers 22 units. KLM Royal Dutch Airlines have signed repeat orders for the *second* time. Other airlines that have added to their original orders are Trans World Airline, Panair do Brasil, Aer Lingus and Aerlinte Eireann (Irish Airlines).*

The decision to repurchase, in each case, is based on more than a year of *Constellation* study—on cost and revenue figures of the plane in actual commercial operation.

THESE SATISFIED CUSTOMERS, we submit, are doing more than show passive acceptance. They are rebuying on *proof of performance,* and their acknowledged judgment, together with their stated confidence in the *Constellation,* is the finest testimonial we or any other manufacturer can attain.

These satisfied customers become, in effect, Lockheed's foremost salesmen. How much more satisfied can a satisfied customer be?

Lockheed Aircraft Corporation

Burbank, California, U. S. A.

LOOK TO LOCKHEED FOR LEADERSHIP

*Other airlines operating (or soon to operate) *Constellations* are Air France, American Overseas Airlines, British Overseas Airways Corporation, Eastern Air Lines, KNILM Royal Netherlands Indies Airways, LAV Linea Aeropostal Venezolana, Qantas Empire Airways, Ltd.

LETTERS

A Valuable Link

Your magazine represents a valuable link in the necessary task of joining the interests of the new world and of pointing out its common objectives. By means of your editorial policy, which is beyond all partisanship and unilateral factionism, UNW will contribute in an abundant measure to a better understanding and greater universal cooperation.

ARTURO MENESES PALLARES,
MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS
ECUADOR.

To Reach the Masses

It is a real tragedy to me that the time of so many fine, honest men and women should be given to writing for publications that reach so few, and these already informed about the subjects discussed, when there are millions that desperately need the information and have no means of getting it . . . Unless the masses are given the truth and the opportunity to form definite, fixed opinions, there is no hope for the future. Fascism will rule.

ALBERTA HODGE,
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

We agree thoroughly as to the importance of providing accurate international news to a large number of people. We like to think that UNITED NATIONS WORLD is a good start in that direction. Many of our readers agree and have shown their interest in a practical way by sending gift subscriptions to their friends, sending us names of prospective subscribers and by talking up UNW in general.—Ed.

Universal Peace Day

Will you *please* lend your efforts to establishment of Universal Peace Day? USA is trying to institute Victory Day. No. It means some nation was defeated, humbled —a reminder of war. Let us use the word PEACE more—and have more peace.

MRS. JOHN H. NICHOLS,
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

A Hope from the Philippines

I hope that the UNW will bring every Filipino as well as every people in this world closer to the principles upon which it is being published.

ANTONIO P. SALVADOR,
PHILIPPINE WAR DAMAGE COMMISSION
MANILA, P. I.

Pros and Cons

I find most interest and useful the articles giving the pros and cons of a situation.

FRANCES M. PECK,
GLOVERSVILLE, N. Y.

Too Much to Digest

The new magazine is too much for me . . It is like a too bountiful table. I cannot digest it all. And the confusion of selecting is wearing. I get *nothing* from so *much*.

MRS. G. W. SUTHERLAND,
WEBSTER GROVES, MISSOURI

All Good

It's all good. Our feeling is that this magazine gives us a more complete picture than any other publication, and the articles are readable. I am planning to lead a dis-

Which way do you dictate?

ANCIENT WAY—man-to-secretary dictation. This impractical method keeps two people tied down hour after hour, everyday—causing delay, and letting work pile up and get behind!

OLD-FASHIONED WAY—man-to-machine, acoustic dictation. A step forward, it frees the secretary and speeds work. But ease of operation and perfect reproduction dictate an even better method.

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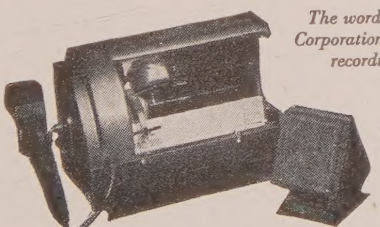

Model AE, with either hand or desk microphone.

DICTAPHONE
Electronic Dictation

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The Foreign Club founded in March of 1945, has members in fifty-two countries and territories, and has adopted the following as its creed:

We believe that happiness is the desire and right of every man and that his race and creed are not barriers to that goal; that happiness goes hand in hand with justice, righteousness, mercy and love for the beautiful and fine; that wrongs must be eliminated and forgotten, to be replaced by truth, sincerity and honesty; that all nations are to be remembered for their contributions to mankind; that hope shall give way to fulfillment; that we must not be content until we know we have given our best in the strengthening of the links of friendship amongst all people.

You are cordially invited to learn more about our organization by accepting without charge a copy of "Introducing The Foreign Club," which may be obtained by writing to:

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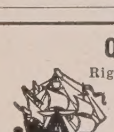

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cussion group for American Association of University Women and expect to use the magazine as a basis for most of the material.

NAME WITHHELD
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

From a UN Employee

As an employee of United Nations Secretariat . . . your articles give me a chance to be an "outsider looking in" instead of vice versa.

NAME WITHHELD
LAKE SUCCESS, N. Y.

What About Russia?

I wish you could get in some good spying with accurate details of what's going on in Russia's vast acreage . . . and more detailed information on the Politburo. Insist on more study of the Russian language in the U.S.A., also more excoriating of our apathy and "pollyanism" concerning our way of life.

NAME WITHHELD

Articles About People

I appreciate all that you are trying to do for the Peace of the World. I find most interesting your articles about the people of other countries, which permit us to understand them better.

CLARA M. MILLER, M.D.

Why Not "America" and "Americans"?

May I take issue with the correspondent in the July issue who protests the use of "America" and, I assume, of "Americans." He is a Canadian, which surprises me even more. If people would just remember that the name of our country is "The United States of *America*," not The United States of Brazil or what have you, it might simplify matters. The Founding Fathers certainly made trouble for us in their choice of a name for the infant. If countries are to be referred to by their short names—Russia, Mexico, Uruguay—ours certainly works out to *America* and *Americans*.

ELIZABETH TAYLOR,
U. S. FOREIGN SERVICE
MADRID, SPAIN.

A German Sends Compliments

Perhaps it does not mean very much to you that a German sends his compliments for your outstanding magazine. Nevertheless I wish to do it. I do not know which I admire more, your excellent articles about international politics or your notes on World Radio, World Press and World Cartoons. I am especially thankful to you for the article, "The Licensed Press in Germany."

There are in Germany millions who are willing to rebuild a new and better Germany and Europe. One cannot expect that militarism and nazism, which were indoctrinated into the brains of the Germans for centuries, could be eliminated in the two years since the war. But the Germans can be reeducated . . . Never show that you think Germans inferior; don't show hatred in any form, but good will and mutual understanding, and the German people will do everything.

WALTER F. BRUNZLOW,
HAMBURG, GERMANY

These are some of the replies received from all over the world commenting on Viscount Cecil's article, "Outlaw Aggression," which appeared in the September issue.

Aggression Will Start in Form of Civil War

I support the proposal also in spite the fact that I know future wars will m likely not take the form of Japan's atta on Pearl Harbor or . . . Italy's attack Ethiopia or . . . Germany's invasion Poland. Future wars, to my mind, w begin along the lines of the Spanish Ci War . . . In course of time internation brigades will be organized to engage active fighting. If this state of indirect pa ticipation should not be decisive, then, a only then, will the powers move the armed forces across the frontier. Only this stage can aggression be seen clearly.

I know that (the proposal) will go f to prevent at least the old type of aggre sion. . . . Such prevention is in itself a goo service to the world.

T. F. TSIANG
CHINESE DELEGATE TO U

Doubts Need of Cecil Proposal—Charter the Best Safeguard

I agree with Viscount Cecil on a numb of points, such as the shortcomings of o present Charter and the importance of t Judgment of the International Court Nuremberg. Whether, however, the pr posed Convention would do more to mai tain international peace and security tha the Charter by itself is, to my mind, e tremely doubtful. It is my firm belief th the Charter . . . is the best safeguard f peace we can obtain in our time.

J. W. M. SNOUCK HURGRON
NETHERLANDS DELEGATE TO U

Useful Supplement to UN Machinery

A statement by Viscount Cecil . . . mu attract the greatest attention of students international relations, of those who devo their efforts to the establishment of international system for the maintenan of the peace, and of statesmen responsib for the fate of their peoples. Very few pe sonalities, indeed, can speak with su authority. I sincerely hope, therefore, th the plan he puts forward will be examin with objectivity . . . to discern . . . t measure in which a convention along the lines could usefully supplement the prese machinery of the UN.

DR. IVAN KERNO
UN ASSISTANT SECRETARY-GENER FOR LEGAL AFFAIRS

Discounts Viscounts

What a thrill it must be for you N Yorkers to be able to correspond wi Viscounts! Hence, the United Nations.

ROBERT R. MC CORMI
THE CHICAGO TRIBUN

Viscount Cecil devoted his life to t promotion of international cooperatio Hence, the United Nations.—ED.

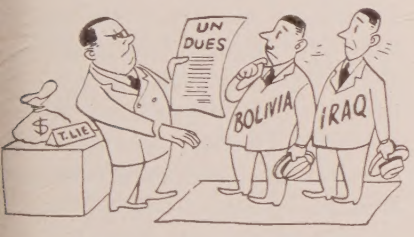
LIFE IN OUR WORLD

A COLLECTION OF ODDS AND ENDS HAVING TO DO WITH LIFE AND TIMES OF HUMANITY IN THE ATOMIC AGE

Entries in the Ledger

It may come as a surprise to purse-proud Americans that the U.S. does not contribute its fair share to the financial upkeep of the UN—at least if you measure the contributions of each nation in terms of the national incomes.

For instance, the U.S. contributes .0043 per cent of its national income to the world organization annually, while Great Britain pays .0072 per cent. With a national income of $180 billion, the U.S. supplies almost 40 per cent of the UN's budget while Great Britain, with an income of about $32 billion, pays almost 12 per cent. By fair standards, the U.S. contribution ought to be six times larger than that of the United Kingdom. There are other nations too whose assessments do not accord with their incomes.



The promptness with which many nations meet their UN dues also leaves something to be desired. Eleven nations have still not paid all of their 1946 debts, to say nothing of their 1947 obligations. The list of defaulters includes the U.S., China, Poland, Iran, Ecuador, Guatemala, Panama, Costa Rica, Haiti, Paraguay and Nicaragua. Two nations, Bolivia and Iraq, owing respectively $15,375 and $32,691, have paid precisely nothing on their 1946 budgets. Nor have they contributed their share to the working capital fund of $20 million.

The UN Secretariat, with its usual tact, notes that "delays in remittance have mostly been caused by the variations in the fiscal years of the various member nations." Just when does a fiscal year roll around in Bolivia and Iraq, anyway?

The only countries which have paid more than their due and actually have a credit balance in the UN are the Byelorrusian S.S.R., Ethiopia, Peru, Saudi Arabia and Uruguay. It is hoped that the bartenders in the Delegates' Lounge make note of this.

FDR: "Smoking Volcano"

Additions to the official list of names for Antarctic maps recently presented to the U.S. Secretary of the Interior by Meredith F. Burrill, Director of the Board of Geographical Names, include Cordell Hull Glacier and Swanson Mountains (named for U.S. Cabinet Ministers); Ochs Glacier, Sulzberger Bay and Wrigley Gulf (named for patrons and supporters of Antarctic expeditions) and Cape Byrd and Byrd Head (named for the famous polar explorer). Incidentally, Franklin D. Roosevelt, in declining to have a South Polar Sea renamed in his honor, suggested that it would give him pleasure to have some "smoking volcano" called Mount Roosevelt if one should turn up.

Russia's New Plastic

A vessel that can carry 12 times its own weight in cargo may soon be manufactured in the U.S.S.R. from a new plastic material weighing only one-fifth as much as cork. Plastic motorboats, rowboats, life-buoys and refrigerators are already in production.

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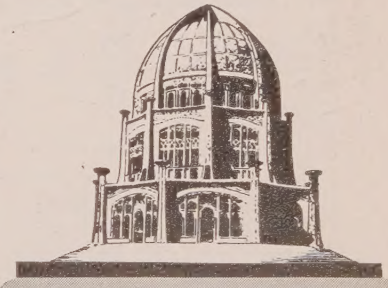

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LIFE IN OUR WORLD *(continued)*

Aftermath in Poland

"Do you notice any nervous disturbances in yourself or in your friends and relatives?" That was the question asked of 3,000 Polish youths by Professors of Warsaw's Institute of Mental Hygiene. Overall answer: Yes—by 64.7 per cent, nearly one third of whom admitted personal disorders. Reasons for the jumpy minds: search and arrest, troubles in the Warsaw uprising, manhunts, imprisonment and witnessing street executions. Reflecting postwar demoralization, over 60 per cent of the interviewees admitted cheating and theft.

Farm Prosperity with a Catch

A hungry world has brought a boom to American farmers—compared with last year their income for the first half of 1947 rose 30 per cent to $11,700,000,000—but Nature has given some of them a hefty beating. Midwest floods wreaked $900,000,000 damage, including 40,000 acres of crop and pasture land ruined, 15,000 acres deeply eroded, and 500,000,000 tons of rich bottomland washed out.

Shakespearean Shekels

Proving once again that William Shakespeare is *not* box office poison, J. Arthur Rank, British movie magnate, announces that his *Henry V*, starring Sir Laurence Olivier, has

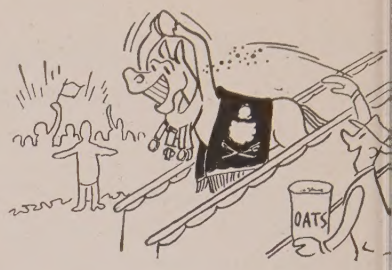
earned $650,000 to date. Opening 18 months ago, the film still has had only limited showings in the U. S. Rank expects it to outrank all other British films and earn $10,000,000.

Villon is Back

Francois Villon, the 15th-century French poet and adventurer, has been put back on his pedestal in the Place Monge in Paris. It's a new stone statue of Villon, though, replacing the bronze one which was stolen and melted down by the Germans.

A Date for the Princess

Resplendent in regimental decc tions and service ribbons, "Princ Louise," mascot of the Canadian F



Armored Corps, was a guest of hor at a reunion of the Corps this sumn at the Utopia, N. B., camp. The "Pr cess," rescued as a filly from an I ian battlefield after being wounc by shrapnel, grew up while acco panying the "Fifth" through Fra and northwest Europe. She arriv in Canada last year amid showers oats and confetti.

Dutch to Roll Back the Sea

Caught in a squeeze between bur ing urban areas and shrinking far land, the Netherlands—with 10 cent of its land already wrenched fr the sea—is planning another big r lamation project. To offset the l of 5,000 tillable acres annually (c to cities' expansion) the Netherlar Association for Land Reclamati has long-range plans to reclaim coa al areas so as to make an unbrok coastline with outlets only at the po of Amsterdam and Rotterdam. tential result: a gain of 950,000 far land acres, equal to 16 per cent Holland's total land surface.

Venezuela Boosts Education

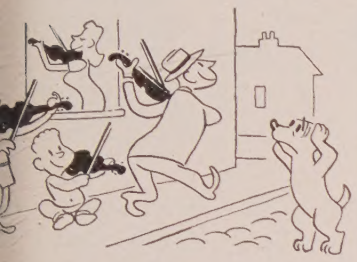
An impressive list of Venezue educational advances since the Ro ulo Betancourt government took fice in 1945 has been issued by L Beltran Prieto, Education Minist Expenditures include: $3,000,000 p on school equipment (tenfold previc outlays since the turn of the century $12,000,000 on school buildings n under construction, exclusive of $ 700,000 of buildings now under w at University City. Prieto adds t school registration and attendar has jumped 40 per cent due to cr tion of nearly 2,800 federal and st teaching positions.

ons Booming in Japan

ade unions in Japan have grown eaps and bounds since V-J Day. teen months after liberation mem- nip had grown to 5,000,000, about of all wage-earners and ten times er than prewar, according to dore Cohen, former chief of 's Tokyo labor division. Strikes permitted provided they do not tly hamper AMG. But Cohen that walkouts were at a minimum.

olinville," Italy

ght out of every ten residents ne Italian town of Santa Maria Vittoria can play or are learn-



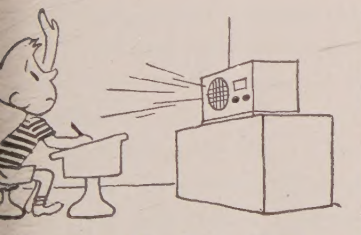
to play the violin. The town is raditional supplier of violinists taly's best symphony orchestras.

llionaire Salads"

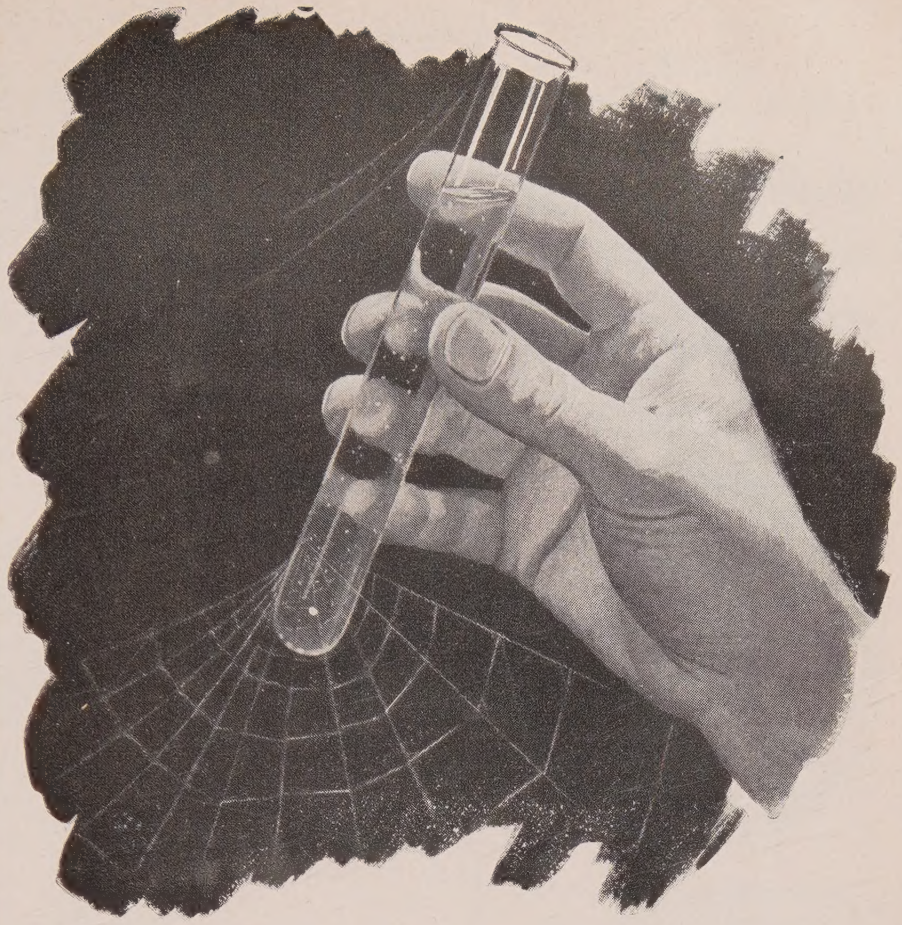
baul, on the island of New Brit- has been swallowed up by the le. Badly damaged by an earth- e in 1937, it was overrun by nese armies during the war. killed the thriving copra plan- ns by eating "millionaire salads" from the cabbage heart of the nut palm. Then came the Ameri- and Australian forces, who ate leftover "salads." The overpow- jungle took care of the rest.

hmetic by Radio

stralia's lone outback has one of world's strangest but most effec- "schools"—a radio station at



Springs, Northern Territory, a teaching area of tens of thou- of square miles. Every day ns are broadcast to children on s of isolated cattle ranches.



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Wisconsin Pesos

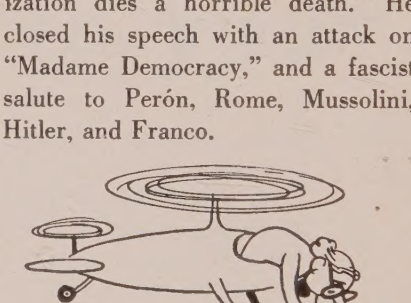
The Parker Pen Company of Janesville, Wisconsin paid 40 per cent of the salaries of its 2,000 employees in Mexican pesos this month.

Its purpose was to emphasize the significance of foreign trade to the company. Janesville merchants have agreed to accept the pesos at 20 cents each and the banks will accept them for deposit or exchange.

Said Kenneth Parker, president of the company, "The itinerary of the pesos should prove that every grocer, lawyer, barber, landlady, farmer or merchant in Janesville is involved in the export business of the U.S., whether he or she knows it or not."

"Mme. Democracy" Abused

Speaking at the Cine Cervantes in Rosario, Argentina, Friar Eusebio Zappaterreni urged all fascists, wherever they might be, to be prepared for fascism's comeback. Claiming to have been Mussolini's confessor, the friar said the late dictator's remains "are safe . . . only thirty persons know his resting place. . . It is protected by scientific methods, and anyone approaching it without authorization dies a horrible death." He closed his speech with an attack on "Madame Democracy," and a fascist salute to Perón, Rome, Mussolini, Hitler, and Franco.



Air-Age—Iron Age

Scientists are taking to helicopters, equipped with electrical metal detectors and color-photograph apparatus, to study an unexplored "iron age" village on the Swedish Island of Gotland, in the Baltic. Foreign archeologists are being invited to aid in its excavation.

Japanese Junkets for GIs

Prominent Japanese are rushing into the tourist business. Shoji Arakawa, formerly head of the Yokohama Specie Bank, is said to have put half a million dollars into the International Tourist Compar which he is president. He pla take over two or three princely and open at least one restauran turing roulette and horse-and hound racing. Ex-GI's and their lies are expected to be the pa

Milk Versus Champagne

Breeding pure Holsteins in th lombian climate is a costly bus according to Don Hernando Ca

wealthy cattle raiser. At a dinne some friends, he gave them a c of milk or champagne, sayin milk cost as much as the wine.

Treasure Islands

The Paracel Islands contain en guano, or bird manure, to fe all South China, according to fessor Wang Kwang-wei of Na Chungshan University, head Chinese scientific mission whic cently turned in its preliminar port. Governed by France befo war, these islands off the coa Indo-China have reverted to C

In Passing

A Melbourne anthropologist 3456 Australian ants by plane t Francisco in order to study the actions to high altitudes. . . A boy born on a Copenhagen str was given a special pass perm him to ride free for life. . . . A of 16 men, half of them Negro white, rode busses through Vir North Carolina, Tennessee and tucky in accordance with the M decision of the U.S. Supreme but in violation of local jim laws and "actually discovered . . . the men . . . became curiou terested, friendly, and able to d the question in a friendly mann

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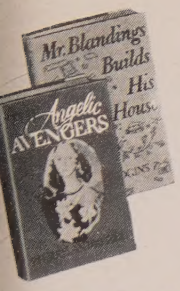

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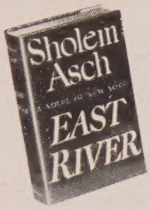

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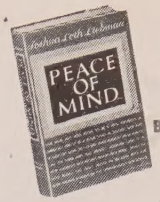

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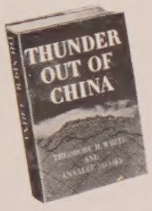

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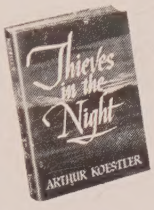

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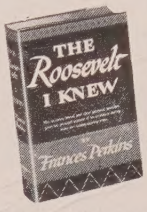

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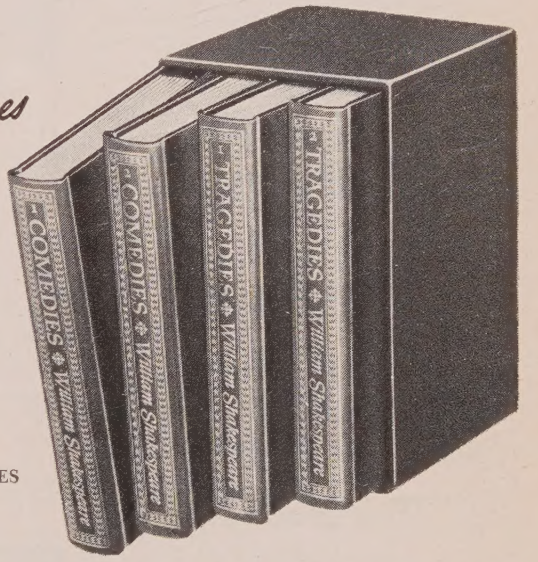
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INTRODUCTIONS

PEARL S. BUCK, author of "Listen to the People, United Nations!" p.

A member of the editorial board, Pearl S. Buck is close identified in spirit and action with the ideals that motiva UN WORLD. As author of numerous novels and artic of international interest, Nobel Prize winner, founder "The East and West Association" and spokesman f the peoples of Asia, her reputation is world wi

ROBERT PAYNE, author of "The Asiatic Century is Upon Us," p.

Robert Payne, author of *Forever China*, began writing in his native Cornwall at the age of seven—the Story of Sylvia Queen of Denmark and Asia. He has made Asia his particular province and eight years of war at first hand gave him background for his forthcoming *Revolt of Asia*, from which the article we publish is condensed.

FRANCIS HACKETT, author of "London: Rations Down, Chins Up," p.

Noted critic, biographer and novelist, Francis Hacke left his native Ireland for America in 1901. Eventual he joined the staff of the *Chicago Evening Post* and th of the *New Republic*. Author of many outstanding work including *Henry VIII, Ireland, A Study in Nationalis* he has just published a book of essays—*On Judging Boo*

MRS. J. L. BLAIR BUCK, "Womanpower is a Force for Peace," p.

Mrs. J. L. Blair Buck of Richmond, Va., recently elected President of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, has been in club work for over 20 years and a Federation official since 1935. Active in community projects, a devoted wife and mother, she is also much in demand as a speaker on world affairs and the woman's role in them.

ELLSWORTH L. RAYMOND, "The Nameless Cities of Russia," p.

A native of Florida, E. L. Raymond was until recent chief of the Russian Economic Section, U.S. War Depar ment, Intelligence Panel Group. Prior to that, he w head translator of the U.S. Embassy in the U.S.S. where he got first hand information. He is now writi a book on the U.S.S.R. from the economic point of vie

MERLE MILLER, author of "U. S. Books for World Readers," p.

Merle Miller, founder and editor of the Pacific Edition of *Yank* and first editor of *Yank's* Continental Edition published in Paris, is now assistant editor of *Harpers Magazine*. Miller is the brilliant young author of *Island 29, We Dropped the A-Bomb* and a new novel which is to be published very shortly, entitled *That Winter.*

IOW U.S. CITIZENS REACT TO THE BOMB

The Subject: Matters relating to the development of the atomic bomb and its effect on attitudes toward international relations.

The Participants: 6,000 U. S. citizens.

The Place: U. S. A. from coast to coast.

These are some of the facts uncovered by a confidential and unecedented nation-wide public opin- poll conducted by the country's tstanding scientific pollsters under e auspices of the Social Science esearch Council.

There are still about 3 million U.S. izens who never heard of the atom mb. Only 5 millions know that anium is its principal component. eneral Leslie M. Groves of Manttan Project fame is known only about 10 millions of his fellow izens.

Seventy-five per cent of the peoe questioned believed that the U. S. ould retain the secret of The mb's manufacture, although 54 r cent also believe that other counes, especially Russia, will certainly ow the secret within 5 to 10 years. fact, 41 per cent think that Russia eady knows.

Fifty per cent of the people say ey are "not worried" by The Bomb, en though 63 per cent believe there real danger that it will be used ainst the U. S. A majority of those nvinced that American cities will come targets for A-Bombs neverless believe that neither they nor ir families will be killed by them.

Fifty-six per cent of those quesned believe that an effective dense will eventually be developed ainst The Bomb, but one-third of ese did not expect this defense to developed before other countries gan to use the weapon.

A majority, 50 per cent vs. 37 r cent, expressed the opinion that system of international control uld prevent nations from making d using The Bomb. Six out of 10 ople believe international control under the UN mandate would be "giving away the secret."

• One-third of those questioned did not know what the UN was or stood for. Very few people believed that the establishment of UN control over atomic energy would yield any reciprocal advantages to the U. S.

• As many people believe that The Bomb will prevent war as that it will bring on war. Most of those who believe that the A-Bomb contributes to peace do so because they think other countries "are afraid to make war while" the U. S. alone has The Bomb. Most of those who believe The Bomb will bring on war base their opinion on the conviction that its development started an atomic armament race.

• There is considerable dissatisfaction among U. S. citizens on the state of world affairs. Other countries are regarded with wide-spread suspicion. Forty-three per cent distrust Britain and believe the British Government is not trying to cooperate with the rest of the world. Thirty-one per cent have faith in British cooperation.

• Twenty-five per cent have confidence in Russian friendship. Sixty-five per cent disapprove of a loan to Russia, expressing the opinion that "we have nothing to gain from it." Two per cent have unqualified faith in Russian cooperation.

• Seven out of 10 citizens are satisfied with the way the U. S. has conducted itself in international affairs since the war. One person in 10 still adheres to pre-war isolationism.

• Imperialism has not taken the place of isolationism, however. The poll found a vast majority of the people, 81 per cent, opposed use of U.S. armed forces abroad.

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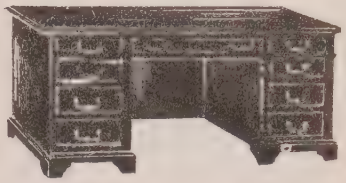

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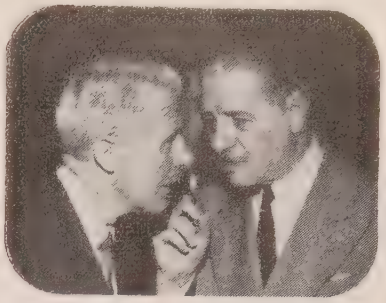
RECESS OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL AT LAKE SUCCESS



Fernand van Langenhove of Belgium (left) has the private ear of Ambassador Vasilli Dendramis of Greece (right).

Sir Alexander Cadogan, United Kingdom, (left) with Yugoslavia's Joze Vilfan (center) and Ambassador S. Kosanovic.

U.S.'s Herschel Johnson engaged in intense coversation with fellow Security Council Member Joao Muniz of Brazil.

Andrei Gromyko, U.S.S.R., talks with Colonel Hodgson of Australia, while Oscar Lange of Poland, listens intently.

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OPEN LETTER

TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

By Albert Einstein

As I see it, this is the way for the nations of the world to break the vicious circle which threatens the continued existence of mankind, as no other situation in human history has every done.

WE ARE caught in a situation in which every citizen of every country, his children, and his life's work, are threatened by the terrible insecurity which reigns in our world today. The progress of technological development has not increased the stability and the welfare of humanity. Because of our inability to solve the problem of international organization, it has actually contributed to the dangers which threaten peace and the very existence of mankind.

The delegates of fifty-five governments, meeting in the second General Assembly of the United Nations, undoubtedly will be aware of the fact that during the last two years—since the victory over the Axis powers—no appreciable progress has been made either toward the prevention of war or toward agreement in specific fields such as control of atomic energy and economic cooperation in the reconstruction of war-devastated areas.

The UN cannot be blamed for these failures. No international organization can be stronger than the constitutional powers given it, or than its component parts want it to be. As a matter of fact, the United Nations is an extremely important and useful institution *provided* the peoples and governments of the world realize that it is merely a transitional system toward the final goal, which is the establishment of a supra-national authority vested with sufficient legislative and executive powers to keep the peace. The present impasse lies in the fact that there is no sufficient, reliable supra-national authority. Thus the responsible leaders of all governments are obliged to act on the assumption of eventual war. Every step motivated by that assumption contributes to the general fear and distrust and hastens the final catastrophe. However strong national armaments may be, they do not create military security for any nation nor do they guarantee the maintenance of peace.

THERE can never be complete agreement on international control and the administration of atomic energy or on general disarmament until there is a modification of the traditional concept of national sovereignty. For as long as atomic energy and armaments are considered a vital part of national security no nation will give more than lip service to international treaties. Security is indivisible. It can be reached only when necessary guarantees of law and enforcement obtain everywhere, so that military security is no longer the problem of any single state. There is no compromise possible between preparation for war, on the one hand, and preparation of a world society based on law and order on the other.

Every citizen must make up his mind. If he accepts the premise of war, he must reconcile himself to the maintenance of troops in strategic areas like Austria and Korea; to the sending of troops to Greece and Bulgaria; to the accumulation of stockpiles of uranium by whatever means; to universal military training, to the progressive limitation of civil liberties. Above all, he must endure the consequences of military secrecy which is one of the worst scourges of

TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY (*continued*)

our time and one of the greatest obstacles to cultural betterment.

If on the other hand every citizen realizes that the only guarantee for security and peace in this atomic age is the constant development of a supra-national government, then he will do everything in his power to strengthen the United Nations. It seems to me that every reasonable and responsible citizen in the world must know where his choice lies.

Yet the world at large finds itself in a vicious circle since the UN powers seem to be incapable of making up their minds on this score. The Eastern and Western blocs each attempt frantically to strengthen their respective power positions. Universal military training, Russian troops in Eastern Europe, United States control over the Pacific Islands, even the stiffening colonial policies of the Netherlands, Great Britain and France, atomic and military secrecy—are all part of the old familiar jockeying for position.

THE TIME has come for the UN to strengthen its moral authority by bold decisions. First, the authority of the General Assembly must be increased so that the Security Council as well as all other bodies of the UN will be subordinated to it. As long as there is a conflict of authority between the Assembly and the Security Council, the effectiveness of the whole institution will remain necessarily impaired.

Second, the method of representation at the UN should be considerably modified. The present method of selection by government appointment does not leave any real freedom to the appointee. Furthermore, selection by governments cannot give the peoples of the world the feeling of being fairly and proportionately represented. The moral authority of the UN would be considerably enhanced if the delegates were elected directly by the people. Were they responsible to an electorate, they would have much more freedom to follow their consciences. Thus we could hope for more statesmen and fewer diplomats.

Third, the General Assembly should remain in session throughout the critical period of transition. By staying constantly on the job, the Assembly could fulfill two major tasks: first, it could take the initiative toward the establishment of a supra-national order; second, it could take quick and effective steps in all those danger areas (such as currently exist on the Greek border) where peace is threatened.

The Assembly, in view of these high tasks, should not delegate its powers to the Security Council, especially while that body is paralyzed by the shortcomings of the veto provisions. As the only body competent to take the initiative boldly and resolutely, the UN must act with utmost speed to create the necessary conditions for international security by laying the foundations for a real world government.

OF COURSE there will be opposition. It is by no certain that the U.S.S.R.—which is often sented as the main antagonist to the idea of government—would maintain its opposition if an table offer providing for real security were made. assuming that Russia is now opposed to the idea of government, once she becomes convinced that government is nonetheless in the making her whol tude may change. She may then insist on only th essary guarantees of equality before the law so avoid finding herself in perennial minority as present Security Council.

Nevertheless, we must assume that despite all Russia and her allies may still find it advisable t out of such a world government. In that case—an after all efforts have been made in utmost sincer obtain the cooperation of Russia and her allies—the countries would have to proceed alone. It is of the importance that this partial world government b strong, comprising at least two-thirds of the major trial and economic areas of the world. Such stren itself would make it possible for the partial worl ernment to abandon military secrecy and all the practices born of insecurity.

Such a partial world government should make i from the beginning that its doors remain wide o any non-member—particularly Russia—for partici on the basis of complete equality. In my opinio partial world government should accept the prese observers from non-member governments at all its ings and constitutional conventions.

IN ORDER to achieve the final aim—which is one and not two hostile worlds—such a partial worl ernment must never act as an alliance against th of the world. The only real step toward world g ment is world government itself.

In a world government the ideological differenc tween the various component parts are of no grave quence. I am convinced that the present difficulti tween the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. are not due pri to ideological differences. Of course, these ideo differences are a contributing element in an a serious tension. But I am convinced that even U.S.A. and Russia were both capitalist countri communist, or monarchist, for that matter—their ries, conflicting interests, and jealousies would re strains similar to those existing between the two co today.

The UN now and world government eventually serve one single goal—the guarantee of the se tranquillity, and the welfare of all mankind.

A. Einstein

Kuznetsk, with its vast steel works, was a "nameless city" in the Siberian wilderness in the late twenties

THE "NAMELESS CITIES"

OF RUSSIA

BY ELLSWORTH LESTER RAYMOND
Former Chief of
U. S. Army's Russian Economic Section

Revealed here for the first time is the gigantic construction program which has added 100 brand new cities and vast industrial areas to the Soviet economy since war's end. They are still entirely too new to appear on the maps.

UNKNOWN to the outside world and scarcely publicized even inside the U.S.S.R, is the fact that the Soviet Union has built, or is building, 100 new production centers and mining towns throughout the length and breadth of the nation—from the Ukraine to the Kuriles, from the Arctic to the Pamirs. They bear witness to the huge strides the U.S.S.R. is making toward rebuilding an industrial economy so terribly ravaged by war.

Between 1926 and 1941, the Soviets created 350 new industrial cities. The new five-year program has stepped up that rate enormously. Magnitogorsk, Novosibirsk, Stalinsk and Komsomolsk-on-Amur became household names to the geographers and economists of the world in the 1930s. Now they will have to learn new names of the cities built in the 1940s, like Severouralsk, Temir Tau II, Khram, Rustavi, Mindechaursk, Kuibyshev IV, and others.

These cities are so new they do not yet appear on even the latest published maps of the U.S.S.R. In fact, only a few of the hundred new cities have, as yet, been given any designation at all. The rest are known by the collective name *Bezimyanka*—literally, "Nameless City"—until Soviet planners can dream up new variations of Stalin's and Molotov's names for their enlarged gazeteers. There are already 11 cities named after Stalin, five after Molotov and three for Voroshilov, reflecting their order of importance within the Politburo.

No Potemkin Villages

When Catherine the Great made her grand tour of her domains over a century and a half ago, her Prime Minister, Potemkin, sent crews of builders ahead of her to throw up make-believe villages and towns, to impress her with the progress he had made. These new Soviet cities are not Potemkin villages. They are built neither for propaganda, nor to impress travelers. They are built to accommodate huge new factories, hydro-electric plants, railway junctions, mining plants, or to provide dwellings for hundreds of thousands of workers from all over Russia, who have been transplanted to the newly de-

veloped or discovered sources of raw material.

At least nine of the new cities are planned along exceptionally elaborate lines to rank with the major industrial cities of the Soviet Union. Six of them are in sufficiently advanced stage of construction to be given names. Three others are still called *Bezimyanki.*

• Severouralsk is the biggest and potentially most important of the new cities under construction. Situated in the Ural Mountains north of Magnitogorsk, today Europe's largest steel producing center, Severouralsk is designed to supplement and eventually outstrip its older sister city. It demonstrates Russia's determination to concentrate heavy industries in the Urals where lies the greatest known concentration of mineral resources in the world. Today Severouralsk presents a strange picture to the select few who are permitted to visit its construction sites. It is a conglomeration of wooden huts, housing the workers' families, hastily built around the permanent structures of huge steel plants nearing completion. The city is designed to accommodate 100,000 inhabitants by 1950.

• Temir Tau, the second Soviet city by this name, is second only in importance to Severouralsk. It is now being built in the Kazakh Republic, southwest of the important ci of Aktyubinsk not far from the Emba River. When cor pleted, Temir Tau will be among the biggest metal pr ducing centers of the region, situated as it is at the hu of a huge wheel whose spokes radiate to the iron minir deposits of the area.

• Khram in Georgia, Stalin's home state, is next in in portance. Strategically situated in the vicinity of th Black Sea, it will be the headquarters of a great ne hydro-electric project providing motive power for sever plants to be built later.

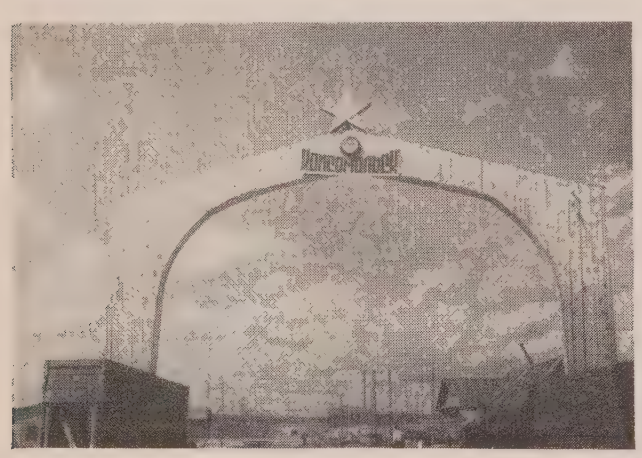
• Mindechaursk is another strategically located new i dustry town with a tremendous hydro-electric plant. Si uated in Azerbaijan not far from the Iranian frontier, will supply power to new industries transferred to th region.

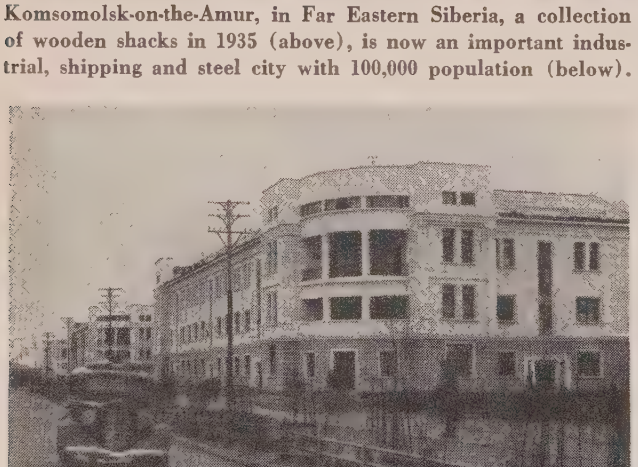
• The city of Kuibyshev now being built on the bank of the Angara River in Central Asia is the fourth Sovi city to be so named. It will accommodate a whole serie of new metal industries and will house the first precisio instrument plants in Siberia.

• Rustavi is planned as the foremost industrial city Armenia. Its new plants will utilize the power provide by a unique hydro-electric station exploiting the wate of a volcanic lake thousands of feet above sea level.

• Of the three foremost Nameless Cities, one is locate in the Nikopol region of the Ukraine, center of mang nese production; another near Dnepropetrovsk, to hou the first big motor factory in the Ukraine; and the thir in Armenia near Lake Sevan, to be headquarters of st another hydro-electric station.

Additional *Bezimyanki* are being built in Finnish K relia to accommodate new paper plants and a shipyar in the Pamirs to house various research projects; the Sverdlovsk district to produce electric tractors, th first to be manufactured in the U.S.S.R.; and many mo of smaller significance.





Komsomolsk-on-the-Amur, in Far Eastern Siberia, a collection of wooden shacks in 1935 (above), is now an important industrial, shipping and steel city with 100,000 population (below).

Scientists Plan New Industrial Region

While the Big Nine among the new cities represe localized industrial expansion, the Soviet Union is al creating an entire, vast new industrial region to cov an area of 800,000 square kilometers, half the size Alaska. Today virtually devoid of modern industry, th region is expected by 1955 to rank in importance wi the large industrial areas of the Soviet Union located the Donetz Basin in the Ukraine and the Kuznetsk Bas in Siberia.

The new region gains particular significance from t fact that it is designed as the geographical and industri center of the Soviet Union's atomic energy developmer It will include the Russian "Oak Ridge" to be built on t banks of the rapid Angara River, utilizing the waters a kind of "Angara Valley Authority," just as the Manha tan Project depended on the TVA.

The *Bezimyanka* which will one day become headqua

Shown on this map for the first time outside the USSR, are the locations of the most important new cities and industrial areas.

ters of this Soviet "TVA" and "Oak Ridge" will be situated northwest of Irkutsk in the Angara bend between Usole and Cheremkhovo. The river, which at this point is exceptionally fast, facilitates the execution of the project. The plants to be built in this particular sector of the region will have either direct or indirect connections with atomic energy production. They will be spread all along the river bank as far north as Bratsk, today still a little provincial town of Central Asia.

The new region with its numerous Nameless Cities of varying sizes extends from Lake Baikal to the Mongolian frontier and the lower regions of the Tunguska river. Its geographical and administrative center is Irkutsk.

The rapid development of this region represents the fruition of Stalin's dream of making Siberia the real heart of the Soviet Union. The movement gained considerable impetus during World War II when whole industries were moved bodily out of the path of the German advance and re-established in Asia. It has now been decided to leave them there for good, while rebuilding the destroyed plants in territories.

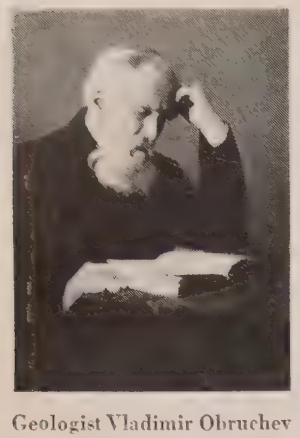
Strategic considerations are as important as purely economic ones in the development of this new region. Its great distance from actual and potential enemy air bases suggests it as a relatively safe spot in the event of an emergency. Its unexploited wealth in mineral resources enhances its economic significance.

The development of the region is planned along strictly scientific lines. A conference of top Soviet scientists and economists was called to Irkutsk in early August to survey the region's potentialities and to draft the blueprints for the work to begin at once. Under the chairmanship of Academician Shovikov, such prominent scientists as Bardin, Obruchev, Vinker and Florentsev participated in the conference to report their preliminary findings.

The presence of Bardin and Obruchev must be regarded as particularly significant. Bardin was the chief builder of the great steel industries in the Kuznetsk Basin, while Obruchev is known as one of the world's foremost geologists. His report emphasized the mineral resources of the nearby Eastern Sayan mountain range and the potentialities of areas along the Lena and Bodaibo Rivers.

Even more immediate importance is attributed to the reports of Academician Grigorev and Professor Kolosovsky. They outlined the project which will make the region the largest producer of hydro-electric power in the Soviet Union.

Aside from its significance as a site of atomic energy plants the "Irkutsk Basin" is also important as the center of the Soviet Union's synthetic oil production. With German synthetic oil production completely eliminated, and American synthetic production in its earliest stages, Russia is probably the leader in this field. Irkutsk was chosen as the site of this industry because of the presence of considerable bituminous coal deposits of a type suitable for synthetic oil production. The significance of this new industry is that it will provide fuel for a region that was long handicapped by its lack. While the Soviet Union has oil deposits in the extreme east and west of Siberia, it has none in the thousands of miles between.



Geologist Vladimir Obruchev determines sites of new cities.

Engineer Ivan Bardin builds their steel mills and plants.

New Progress in Old Cities

However, it is not merely in new cities and undeveloped regions that the Soviet Union strives to restore its wartorn industries and to increase its stature as an industrial power. Old industrial regions are being redeveloped or expanded, and old cities are being enlarged through addition of new manufacturing centers and industries entirely new to the Soviet Union, patterned after American prototypes. Chelyabinsk in the Urals, long known as Russia's foremost tractor building center, now also manufactures heavy road building machinery, such as heavy-weight scrapers propelled by S-80 tractors. Bryansk, completely flattened during the war, now produces the first native-built bulldozers and cement mixers. Production has proceeded so well that the U.S.S.R., which depended on the United States for this equipment before the war, is already exporting it. A first shipment of eight cement mixers went to Rumania.

The heavy machine building plant in remote Alma Ata, near the Sinkiang frontier, has been considerably enlarged and is now reported to be outproducing its mother plant situated in more vulnerable Moscow.

Dneproges, the huge power station in the Dnieper bend, has just received its second and third hydroturbines of 102,000 horsepower each, built in the Kirov Works at Leningrad.

Progress in the Pacific

Even in remotest Sakhalin and the Kuriles, obtained under the Yalta Agreement, Soviet engineers, research scientists and geologists are actively preparing for the industrial and agronomic development of these outposts. Academician Mironov is at the head of a group of scientists operating out of what is called the Sakhalin Scientific Research Base, which also has jurisdiction over the Kurile Islands. His men are prospecting for local minerals, as well as vegetable and marine raw materials, preparatory to drafting plans for the improvement of local agriculture, cattle breeding and the introduction of industries. Industrial equipment is arriving daily fro European Russia for pilot plants and additional researc centers.

New Transport Lines

Similar emphasis is being placed on the developme of transport to link together this far-flung industri empire. According to Major General Sologubov, Depu Minister of Transport, the length of railways in t U.S.S.R. has been increased by approximately 600 mil since the end of World War II. Most of the new lin have both industrial and strategic significance. The new built Dzhambul-Chulak-Tau railway, for example, allo the tapping of enormous phosphate deposits in Centr Asia. This eliminates the necessity of hauling phosphat over thousands of miles from Kirovsk near Murman for the Central Asiatic cotton fields.

The new line from Sosva to Alapaevsk through t Trans-Ural forests helps to transport coal from the Bog slovsky basin in Central Asia and metal from the N dezhdinsk works in the Urals.

The south Siberian trunk line which will eventuall parallel the Trans-Sib all the way from the Volga to I kutsk is progressing at forced speed. Construction h just started on its Pavlodar-Akmolinsk sector. Prepar tory and survey works are in progress on the Kulund Barnaul line. Railways are being electrified in the Ural Siberia and Transcaucasia.

These facts, published for the first time in the Unite States, are based entirely on original Soviet sources which few technicians have direct access. While many these new and nameless cities are still little more tha conglomerations of huts around the construction sit of future factories, no one who knows the facts can min mize the mighty surge of industrial progress in t Soviet Union today. Remember that Magnitogorsk, no the largest steel center of Europe, was an empty pla on a windy steppe two short decades ago. It will not tak as long to complete Severouralsk, its far bigger offsprin to the North.

Magnitogorsk, in the Urals, started from scratch twenty ye ago, is now the largest steel producing center of all Euro

DEADLINE FOR PALESTINE

By TEDD JOSEPH

I.N.S. Staff Correspondent

Despite constant wrangling, UNSCOP, most controversial UN Committee yet formed, met the deadline for its recommendations. Much of the credit belongs to an unspectacular Swedish Judge

he author, flanked by Peru's Arturo arcia and Arab frontier guards, accomanies the Palestine Committee across llenby Bridge over the Jordan River.

NO MATTER how turbulent the General Assembly debate on Palesne, it is not likely to reach the pitch f disharmony which marked the ummer sessions of the UN Special ommittee on Palestine (UNSCOP). Eventually, however, the 11 small ation members were able to find 11 oints of unanimity. Seven members igned a majority report urging partion. A minority of three recomended a bi-national federation.

The Chairman of UNSCOP, who ad the tedious responsibility of ringing in clear-cut recommendaons to the General Assembly, was newcomer to UN councils, Emil andstrom, 61-year-old member of ie Swedish Supreme Court and of ie International Court of Arbitraon at The Hague. His personality not forceful. He is stubborn, but as an overlayer of patience and tact.

To call the Chairmanship of NSCOP a "difficult assignment" would be a comic understatement.

Overnight fame awaited the man who could lead his charges down a road strewn with the wrecks of eighteen previous investigating committees, to a successful objective.

Judge Sandstrom's objective was a recommendation for partition. The effectiveness of his leadership can be measured by the seven-nation majority that eventually endorsed partition (Canada, Czechoslovakia, Guatemala, The Netherlands, Peru, Sweden, Uruguay).

The signers of the minority report, Yugoslavia, India and Iran, entered the Committee already publicly committed on the Arab-Jewish problem. But this is in no way a reflection on the independence of action of these minority delegates. In each instance they modified these "public commitments" by granting the Jews limited immigration as well as control over that immigration. Significantly the Arab Higher Committee of Palestine and the Arab League states have rejected the minority as well as the majority findings.

During the investigation Chairman Sandstrom daily faced a group of committeemen, who, while they may have tried to remain "impartial" towards the Palestine problem, did not bother to extend that impartiality toward each other. They often ridiculed opposing viewpoints. They concocted unflattering nicknames for each other. The Chairman was referred to as "Shifting Sandstorm."

In fairness to Judge Sandstrom, it can be pointed out that the delegates themselves filled the hours with talk and he was reluctant to curb them. With the possible exception of Dr. Garcia of Peru, he was the most taciturn of the eleven. His public speeches were brief. His replies, pointed. The questions he put to witnesses were concise and within the scope of the testimony presented.

In Geneva during August, UNSCOP settled down to draft its recommendations. With four weeks to go before the Assembly deadline of September 1, no decision had yet been made as to whether UNSCOP was to tour the Jewish detention camps of Germany and Austria—one of the most significant decisions (finally adopted by a 6 to 4 vote, with Czechoslovakia abstaining) since the tour linked the European Jewish DP problem with a Palestine solution.

Judge Sandstrom began to show the strain. He finally adopted the technique of holding closed sessions, without formal minutes and with only the top members of the Secretariat, such as Dr. Victor Hoo and Dr. Ralph Bunche, present.

The first week of discussion was not very successful. The second week, the delegates began to look more cheerful. The third week they reported a surprising (to them) number of points of agreement. That the report could be whipped into final shape by deadline time is now part of UN history.

In trying to reach its own decision on Palestine, the Assembly would do well to study not only the UNSCOP reports, but the achievement of an undemonstrative, unspectacular Swedish Judge who brought about international agreement within the most controversial Committee yet formed by UN dealing with its most controversial subject.

FRESH FISH FOR JUAN

By RAY JOSEPHS

Noted South American Correspondent

In oil-rich Venezuela, with its lop-sided economy, U b
interests have launched an ambitious project which ... imp
living standards, stimulate progress and eventu ly tr. fer
trol of vast new industries to the Venezuelans.

A FEW WEEKS ago I watched a tired, discouraged fish peddler roll his cart up a villa-lined street in the San Bernardino suburb of Caracas, yelling his time-honored call: *"Pescado! Pescados!"* A few cooks and a *señora* or so wearily strolled out to the gates. Half a dozen *pargo*—red snapper; one or two mullets and an anemic and by now highly battered lobster were José's total stock. Three of the onlookers, plates in hand, made purchases. But not without a bitter wrangle over price and the fact that the *pescados* were, to say the least, odoriferous.

José hardly offered a rebuttal—for nowhere else in Latin America are fish and every other food scarcer and more expensive than in Venezuela's capital. But as he trundled down the street he turned with a grin: "Wait until *el Plan Rockefeller* gets under way. You'll have fish the way you want them at prices you like. I'll make more money. And we'll all be happy."

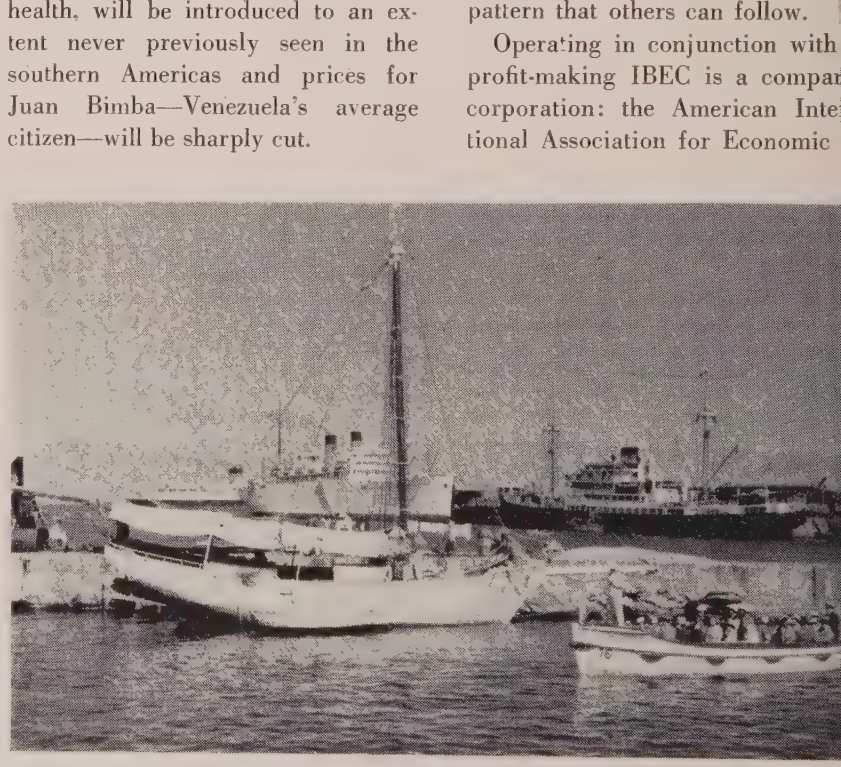
Today in Venezuela work is already under way on one of the most ambitious, far-reaching postwar projects attempted anywhere by private capital—a plan to adjust the whole unbalanced national economy by using modern scientific techniques to increase production and availability of goods and services useful to the people. Its aim is nothing less than to revolutionize the living standards of an entire nation in ten accelerated years. Venezuela today imports over 40 per cent of its food. Working hand in hand with the Venezuela Government, Nelson A. Rockefeller, sparkplug of the idea, and his four brothers, believe they can not only broaden the base of this country's economy but set a pattern which can be used elsewhere in Latin America and possibly throughout the United Nations.

The Great Experiment

Before the scheme ends its first year, essentials from fish to milk will be tackled. Ultra-modern techniques in everything from warehousing to agriculture, education and public health, will be introduced to an extent never previously seen in the southern Americas and prices for Juan Bimba—Venezuela's average citizen—will be sharply cut.

The Venezuelean project is ... of an even larger scheme. In J... ary of this year Nelson Rocke... founded the IBEC (International Basic Economy Corporation) to c... on with private capital the G... Neighbor policy of the U. S. Gov... ment. IBEC is modeled after the... operative programs initiated ... Rockefeller as Coordinator of In... American Affairs, but it has ... made a profit undertaking, to s... pattern that others can follow.

Operating in conjunction with ... profit-making IBEC is a compan... corporation: the American Inte... tional Association for Economic ...



La Guaira, Venezuela's chief port, will lose its position as the center of the fishing industry when the new refrigeration plant is opened at Puerto La Cruz.

cial Development (commonly re-
red to as AIA ' is strictly
conduct
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Althoug. . have b equests
om many La ' ar tries,
EC is coni ict to
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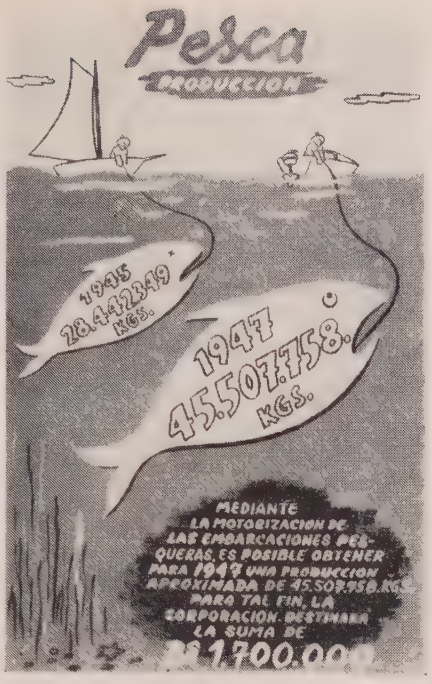
ng or od production
s ctor i standard of
As t of the fundamental
nceptio the Rockefeller plan,
cal finar al part pation is sought
it w in 10 years control of
ie sidiaries will, it is hoped, pass
ntirely into the hands of private
razilian and Venezuelan investors.

Two companies have been estab-
shed in Brazil—one to raise hybrid
eed corn and the other to produce
ogs.

These enterprises in Brazil are car-
ied on directly by IBEC, but in
enezuela the projects are handled
y VBEC (Venezuelan Basic Economy
orporation) which is a subsidiary
f IBEC, and has itself, in turn, set up
perating subsidiaries. The Vene-
uelan Government, acting through
s Corporacion Venezolana de Fo-
nento, may subscribe for 50 per cent
f the capitalization of each subsidi-
ry in the form of six per cent, non-
oting preferred stock.

Some of the oil companies which
nake this country the world's sec-
nd largest petroleum producer, have
greed to buy the non-voting pre-
erred stock of VBEC. Creole Petro-
eum, the world's and Venezuela's
rgest single producer (a subsidiary
f the Standard Oil Co. of New Jer-
ey) and the Caribbean Petroleum
o. (of the Royal Dutch Shell group)
ave pledged $13,000,000. Other com-
anies are expected to put up at
east $2,000,000 more. One-third of
ne profits from these oil-company
nvestments will go outright to the
on-profit AIA organization.

In selling the oil companies on the
dea, Minister of Development Perez
ldonso told them: "You have helped
islocate the economy of our country
y drawing off too many workers to



Fish production will be almost doubled, according to this graphic government poster, when the stateowned Venezuelan Development Corporation has completed its program of refrigerating, motorizing and reactivating its fishing vessels.

the oil fields. Helping restore our economy will make things more normal, reduce prices and improve your own status." There was little need for lengthy argument, he said.

Fish Comes First

The reason the fish industry was chosen for the first operating subsidiary is not hard to understand. Fronting on the warm Caribbean, Venezuela has some of the hemisphere's richest fishing grounds. Yet with more than 20 major varieties of edible fish so close at hand, fish constitute only a small part of the Venezuelan diet. The heat of the tropics makes it all but impossible to keep the catch in appetizing, edible condition for more than a very brief period. And though Caracas, 3,500 feet above sea level, is rarely hot, the seacoast is tropical with a capital "T."

On a hot, dusty dockside in Puerto La Cruz, Venezuela's port near the coastal city of Barcelona, John Camp, a food expert with long experience in Paraguay and other Latin countries, showed me the site of the first operations of Caribbean Fisheries, VBEC subsidiary which he will head. The town was chosen not only because it is the closest to the famed fishing grounds of the Isla Margarita in the eastern Caribbean, but also because it affords port facilities which may eventually permit it to develop an entire new area of the country.

"The key to everything here is ice," Camp told me. "From these docks our fleet of iced boats will go out for a week or ten days at a time. Our first four boats will be the most modern commercial fishing craft in the world. With each trip more and more Venezuelans, especially the younger men now being recruited, will come along. They'll learn the ropes, and eventually take over.

"We hope to catch 10 or 15 tons daily; 8,000 tons a year. But—and this may sound crazy—we're not going to try to corner the market. In fact we're going to send out special iced boats to sell *our* ice to the local fishermen and enable *them* to compete with us. We'll also sell them hooks, lines and nets at cost; take them out on our boats to learn our methods. In fact," Camp added, "Caribbean Fisheries will even act as agent and distributor for the local fishermen in order to develop, not suppress competition."

Walking along the docks of the tanker terminal port I caught the significance of what this will mean. Like José, the fish peddler, Puerto de la Cruz' straw-hatted, barefooted fishermen got little, despite the high price charged the customer. One showed me his *casa*, a corrugated tin shack without a floor, water or the most rudimentary comforts, and explained that dealers sometimes wait for hours after the catch comes in before buying. "Fearful our haul may spoil entirely, we often have to sell at a loss," he said.

Leaving his shack, we walked to the site where the new Caribbean Fisheries headquarters was rising. When operations begin the standard prices for the fishermen will be posted days in advance. The square-cut,

glass-bricked structure will house an ultra-modern installation for cleaning, processing and deep freezing the catch. A 30-ton plant will provide ice for immediate use, for storing fish in big 50-pound blocks and for ships and land transport. Fast, gayly painted trucks, with distinctive trademarks will cover the 12 to 14 hour drive over the new $8,000,000 oil-company-built highway that leads to Caracas. Other trucks—and possibly small planes—will for the first time, regularly reach secondary cities in a fifth of the time currently required.

First in Caracas, later in other cities, spotless new stores or departments in already established shops will sell the parchment-paper wrapped, cleaned, graded and labeled fresh fish. Prices to the consumer will be about half the current price of fish and later perhaps even cheaper.

Yet Caribbean Fisheries and its parent VBEC are expected to make a fair profit. In fact, the first plant should pay part of the cost of a future second plant in Venezuela's western Maracaibo region and eventually liquidate its total investment.

Food and Farms

After fishing, the second largest undertaking is to launch a processing unit to reconstitute powdered milk from the U.S. Currently, Venezolanos can get only a daily average of 50 grams—or a tenth of a pint of milk. Rockefeller's plan will eventually aid dairying. But for the present, reconstituting the powdered product can, it is believed, produce 60,000 liters daily in one plant alone. The first such operation will be in western Venezuela where milk is scarcest.

A food warehousing and distribution concern as yet unnamed, is in the planning stage. Its task is as vital to Venezuela as the fisheries project. For one of the chief reasons for the high costs of foodstuffs here has not been duties or freight charges alone but the profits tacked on by numerous middlemen, whose concept of an equitable mark up is 100 to 200 per cent or higher.

Venezuela's revolutionary government which took over in 1945 has sought to reduce these fantastic profits with its own Comision Nacional de Abastecimiento (provisions). This organization has set up eight low-priced stores in Caracas, an equal number elsewhere, to sell corn, rice, canned fish, eggs and other staples at a little over cost. But lacking the skilled technicians, marketing experience, supply sources that the Rockefeller set-up will have, the government feels (as Minister of Development Juan Pablo Perez Alfonso told me that it will only begin to achieve widespread results with the leadership of the new organization.

Still another Rockefeller project is to establish a series of model farms throughout the country. Fifteen to 20 such demonstration centers will be set up, using modern machinery, seeds, fertilizers and techniques. Each will be made self-supporting.

Some of these farms will be run by Venezuelans and a representative group from the 15,000 European immigrants whom Venezuela has arranged to bring here with the aid of the International Refugee Organization. If successful, they will admit other D.P.'s to this oil-rich but population-hungry republic.

While the Basic Economy Corporation will concentrate on specific development projects, its nonprofit panion organization, AIA, will centrate on supplying the coun serious need for trained men. W ing with various Venezulean go ment departments, it will focus tention on health, sanitation, n tion and vocational training. I home demonstration activities h worked out for rural commun and village and rural centers b designed where Juan Bimba wil able to get avidly desired informa on good water supply, corn grin mills and how best to feed his and children.

Nelson Rockefeller's second big project in Venezuela will make milk plentiful.

Selling the Plan

Non-political critics of the have pointed out that Venezu retarded transportation system, lack of skilled local people, opposition of certain labor un who fear introduction of machi and the protests of profiteering chants may hinder its success. investigators here in the field i that every problem has been co ered and found not insurmounta

To sell *El Plan Rockefeller* to people it is designed to help, V has established an active public tions department in Caracas. E industry when established will d own special selling job. On fish, example, plans include a camp to convince Venezuelan fishermen well as potential customers of merit of the idea. There will be r to get the message across to the per cent who cannot read; film demonstrate the new, speedy deli methods; cooking lessons and l ally illustrated pamphlets for sumers.

"Our point of view," says Ro feller, "is to demonstrate what be done. It's not our purpose to up and hold Venezuelan property mere speculation. Capital so ployed can become sterile and im progress. On the other hand w capital is used to stimulate pro tion through more efficient meth it becomes important in the gr and progress of democracy."

TATE OF THE WORLD

eports and analyses of world events you may not find in your newspapers.

' IT isn't the heat it must be the humidity that makes August and ptember such hectic months in in- national relations. Two world wars re started during these *mois fatals* d happy indeed was the year 1933 en all that happened in those eight eks was the downfall of Machado Cuba and the nomination of Guardia for New York's mayoralty. This year, August and September ovided clues for a clinical study the world by political psycholo- ts. A lattter-day Le Bon, for ex- ple, could have seen significant mptoms in the reaction of New lhi and Karachi crowds to the oclamation of Indian independence. e Hindus of New Delhi seemed nuinely elated, but the Moslems of rachi showed signs of subdued un- rtainty, as if pondering whether eir Pakistan was the stroke of a nius, the whimsical *tour de force* a stubborn bachelor, or the sly sign of a third party.

Dr. Freud, too, could have written interesting essay on Earl Mount- tten's subconscious as it was ex- sed during the celebrations. Mak- g his public appearances during e momentous day, he could hardly ntrol his emotions. He tapped out e rhythm of his speeches with nerv- s feet; he fingered his immaculate ite uniform in evident bewilder- nt; he seemed forlorn and lone- me in the immense crowd. He oked preoccupied if not worried if contemplating an apology ould Queen Victoria suddenly ap- ar and demand an explanation om her prodigal great-grandson.

The failure of the Netherlands to just herself to the realities of the st-war world could have inspired fred Adler to describe it as a com- nsatory superiority complex—a lady by no means uncommon ong nations caught *in flagranti* per- petuating some mischief in the dim twilight of outdated colonial concepts. And so could psychologists diagnose or explain events in Hungary, in Greece, in Korea, in Japan, at the Rio Conference as repressed desires, manifestations of the *ego* or the *id*, blocked emotions. For other events they would have to resort to the ter- minology of abnormal psychology.

Petropolis to Acropolis

● At Rio, particularly, diplomatic language was no longer used to con- ceal thoughts. When the Cuban dele- gate demanded the consideration of economic aggression through a uni- lateral application of international economic measures among the po- tential threats to hemispheric secur- ity, he spoke words which all dele- gates could understand. It required a series of behind-the-scenes confer- ences and the Latin power of per- suasion of the Brazilian, Mexican and Panamanian Foreign Ministers to gain a temporary reprieve for the consideration of the issue.

With the Cuban proposal out of the way, the Rio Conference brought unadultered success to the United States, which succeeded in marshalling the American Republics for a pageant of hemispheric solidarity hoping it would impress Western Europe as much as it would convince the East.

In the eastern Mediterranean, Greece demonstrated that it is no longer the divine prerogative of kings, as it was in Coleridge's day, to gov- ern wrongly—while the Promised Land was handed its greatest prom- ise. The Maximos *régime* in which Tsaldaris was the real boss, collapsed under the weight of its own sins at the very moment when tangible American aid first arrived.

When Constantin Tsaldaris was called in to form a new cabinet on a "temporary basis" it became evident that a mere change of titular head of the government will not suffice. The adamant stand of 87-year-old lib- eral leader Themistocles Sophoulis portended the broadening of the government under liberal leadership.

Ambassador Lincoln MacVeigh and Administrator Griswold played a role in the crisis that could not escape charges of ambiguity. A long- simmering disagreement between the two top American envoys in Athens was forced into the open. It may yet lead to the recall or resignation of the Ambassador, since the State De- partment seems to side with Governor Griswold. In confidential notes to Washington the Administrator ac- cused his diplomatic colleague of con- fining the radius of his influence and information to a small coterie of poli- ticians around Tsaldaris, anything but representative of Greek public opinion or conducive to American popular support for Greece.

Partition on the Jordan

● Across from Greece in Palestine the idea of a Jewish State in modern times appeared one step nearer to realization in the recommendations of the United Nations Special Com- mittee on Palestine. Its majority argued for the immediate termina- tion of the British mandate and the eventual partition of the little coun- try into Arab and Jewish States with an "autonomous" Jerusalem. A min- ority report suggested federalization. Both reports linked the problem of displaced persons and immigration to the overall solution suggested.

The reports were submitted and released on the very day of the fiftieth anniversary of a short entry into an obscure diary kept by an elegant bearded stranger roaming the streets of Paris during the Dreyfus crisis.

The stranger was Theodore Herzl, father of political Zionism. His entry read: "Today I founded the Jewish State." Then followed agony, then despair, then violence. Now comes hope.

Supporting the principle and practice of partition in India, Britain was shoved into a *cul de sac* as she opposed partition of the Holy Land. The stinging censure of the colonial administration was a bitter pill to swallow in Whitehall. The impassive District Commissioners transplanted to the Jordan from the rivers of West Africa, are by disposition, training and outlook incapable of grasping the yearning of a people determined to keep a date with its destiny. The Committee's recommendation dealt colonial prejudice another blow—even if it may still be a long way to a final solution for Palestine. (See "Deadline for Palestine," p. 19.)

In August, too, Japan's future was discussed in a British Commonwealth Conference in Canberra as a strange piece of news was coming out of Washington, London and Tokyo.

Japan Dumps Again

● Those who thought that international dumping was dead for good with the defeat of Nippon received a jolt when they learned that the trade mark "Made in Japan" returned to the world market with a bang. The better-dressed inhabitants of Tanganyika and Zanzibar are again wearing Japanese blankets—by courtesy of an agency called the U.S. Commercial Corporation. The Corporation is government-owned and is in charge of rehabilitating Nippon's world trade as smoothly as possible. Its profits are used in helping to defray U.S. occupation expenses.

The full scope of the Corporation's transactions are too complicated to bear telling in a short note. It is exporting American cotton to Japan to be processed in the country's textile mills—two-thirds of which are now restored to full production. Then it re-exports the finished goods to Britain, the Netherlands, their colonial possessions, and to Burma, where textile goods are in great demand.

Since the Corporation must pay American cotton dealers in U.S. dollars, it demands that its customers also pay in this same currency. Thus far 900,000 bales of American cotton were sent to Japan with 300,000 additional bales to go soon. Millions of yards of cotton yarn were sent to British East Africa, the United Kingdom, Hong Kong and Burma, depleting, under the arrangement, Britain's precarious dollar credit by millions. Sorely in need of these cotton goods, Britons buy and pay—but grumble. They feel that, being on the winning side, they should not be required to use up dollar credits to pay for Japan's industrial rehabilitation.

Inside the Moses Plan

● The story of the Moses Report, the "suppressed" travelogue New York's Park Commissioner submitted to the War Department upon his return from Germany, is the latest confirmation of the truism that secrets are made not born. After having seen Germany just a little longer than his biblical namesake was permitted to view the Promised Land, Robert Moses presented his suggestions only to be told that the State Department objected to their publication to avoid "international complications"—meaning a possible British criticism of the blunt language.

Those who have seen the recommendations of Mr. Moses, and they are many, report that his suggestions included a postponement of the Ruhr's nationalization for at least 20 years and the issuance of a $300,000,000 loan for the quickest possible rehabilitation of the Ruhr, which he regards as the crux of Germany's, and indeed Europe's, rehabilitation.

Bases for Sale

● Extremely anxious to please the United States and to demonstrate its desire for inter-American cooperation, Nicaragua's unrecognized government plans to write into its Constitution an article stipula that naval or military bases may *sold* (sic!) to any American Re lic which needs them. This wil the first time that a Constitution resemble a classified ad offering able real estate to the highest bid

Nationalizations

● When, on August 6, Sir How Lloyd retired for a well-deserved after a busy day in the Bank of laide, he did not suspect that would wake up to a "revolution" morning after. But there it was giant headlines in the Adelaide pers: the government of Prime ister "Ben" Chifley decided nationalize all private banks Australia. When Sir Howard gained his composure, he exclaim "They can't do this to us," rushed to the telephone to mobi his fellow bank presidents for Jihad against the nationalizat measure. The bankers of Austra claim that the decision is ill-tim coming as it does in the midst Britain's crisis, and ill-founded si it is calculated to lead the coun into financial ruin. But the Chi Government is determined to pur the plan. It is utilizing Minister External Affairs Evatt's skills lawyer and diplomat to draft a permitting the bankers to eat th cake while keeping at least part o

Nationalization is a kind of in the postwar world. Mexico has j decided to nationalize her fishing dustries. Nationalizations in East Europe are progressing at a ra pace. But it will be left to So America to teach the world an ob lesson in energetic nationalizati An inevitable trend in this direct is definitely recognized in Washi ton, this recognition being at l one of the underlying motives of Sugar Bill recently passed by C gress. It stipulates that sugar qu may be withheld from any cou which infringes on the rights interests of United States nation

URUGUAY'S "LITTLE TRUMAN"

By VINCENT de PASCAL
UN WORLD correspondent in Uruguay

Nobody wanted the job of Vice President on Tomas Beretta's ticket in the last election until Luis Batlle Berres took it against the wishes of his own party.

New Uruguayan President Luis Batlle Berres (center) received the congratulations of U.S. Senator Hugh Butler (left) and General Electric Corp. official John J. Zozaya

Uruguay has its own "President Truman," though he does not hail from Independence, Missouri, nor is he, strictly speaking, a "grass roots" man. Luis Batlle Berres has a record behind him as newspaper writer and editor, and son of a family that has given the nation two previous presidents. Yet when he became Chief of State on August 1, 1947, the whole nation greeted him as "our own little Luis—Luisito—our President Truman."

Just five months before, Berres had been elected to the Vice-Presidency, on a ticket on which he was running mate with President Tomas Berreta. Several of the great political bosses of Uruguay who aspired to the Presidency had sniffed at the compromise offer to run in second place on the sure-thing Batllista ticket, and found it not to their taste. Nor did Berres, then Chairman of the Chamber of Deputies, believe he stood the faintest chance of stepping up to the Presidency when he accepted to go on the ticket against the wishes of his own party. Then, on the first day of August. Berreta died, and "Luisito" Berres automatically took over.

There were certain strong analogies between his situation and that of Truman. Berreta's program, on which he had been elected, was one which promised improvement of the lot of the workingman, and the pushing through of the Agrarian Reform project. It was a "New Deal" for Uruguay, and one which Berreta was determined to see through to the end. On his deathbed. he summoned "Luisito" and made him promise not to fail.

Berres has had a whole lifetime to think about what he ought to do if he were President some day. His grandfather was Gen. Lorenzo Batlle, first of the family to become Chief of State. Then came Jose Batlle y Ordonez, the General's son, who founded the Batllista Party, and was himself President, from 1903-07, and 1911-15. Batlle y Ordonez, "Luisito's" uncle, was one of the country's greatest political figures. Most of Uruguay's advanced social legislation was enacted under his urge for his nation's social advancement. When the brother died he took Luis into his household and brought him up as his own.

Berres began the study of law, but abandoned it for a job as a reporter on *El Dia*, Uruguay's most important morning paper, founded by his uncle and today official organ of the Batllista Party. "Luisito" rose to the editorship. Meanwhile, in 1922 he was elected to his first legislative post, Departmental, or State Deputy.

He was a Deputy when Gabriel Terra executed his *coup d'etat* on March 31, 1933, and installed a dictatorship. Luis Batlle Berres that night spoke against the so-called "precautionary measures" adopted by the *de facto* president. From then onward, until 1936, fall of the dictatorship suffered political persecution.

When Terra was overthrown in 1936, "Luisito" returned to Uruguay and was again elected to Congress. He returned a man with a mission: to fight dictatorships where and when they were to be found. He managed to organize a broadcasting station. He soon won notoriety as the first Uruguayan to fight Fascism publicly.

President Batlle Berres is just an average Uruguayan in that he holds no foreign decorations, no university degree, and has never traveled abroad beyond Argentina, Chile and Brazil. A sports enthusiast when he was younger, he is still energetic. When he walks on the street, his firm, long stride sometimes makes it difficult for the more leisurely Uruguayans to keep up with him. The other day a friend who was a little out of breath keeping up with him asked: "Do you always walk so fast?" The President's reply was characteristic: "Do you think that I would have arrived if I had slowed down?"

ATOMIC CONTROL
HUNGER
ARMAMENTS
BORDER INCIDENTS
FEAR OF WAR
UNITED NATIONS
U.S.
U.S.S.R.
CHILE
AUSTRALIA
SAUDI ARABIA
HAL McINTOSH

LISTEN TO THE PEOPLE, UNITED NATIONS!

y PEARL S. BUCK
amous novelist and Nobel Prize Winner,
ember of the Editorial Board, *UN World*

In a mood of anxious doubt Pearl Buck visited Lake Success. Her verdict? Only if peoples compel governments to use the UN can it succeed.

HERE comes a time when it is folly to suppress doubt and fear. Such time is now. Ever since the San rancisco Conference the attitude of eoples in the world toward United ations has been one of longing and etermined hopefulness, increasingly ot through with fear. I have been nd am one of those people. If it ere a matter of me alone, I might eny myself the luxury of writing is article and so expressing my own oubts and fears and hopes. But a ile of letters on my desk, in addition many spoken questions and conersations, convinces me that there nothing peculiar about my present ate of mind. It is shared by millions f people. Thus a recent letter from Chinese friend inquires if I see any ossibility of the present policy in hina being modified by United Naons. He himself sees none, but he ould like to think he is wrong. He a Nationalist, a member of the uomingtang party, but not of the naller inner group that is profiting y the use of American dollars. He ys:

"After watching the Wedemeyer ission we are convinced that its urpose is military. If a foreign war reaks out on our soil, our people ill fight both sides. The United tates will not only have to face the iemy alone, but will be attacked by hinese from the rear. These will not e Communists but the majority of e Chinese people. The present trend ward war, fostered by the United tates and Russia, is dangerously unrealistic. How is it that the American people do not know what is happening in their name? I wish there were some way of presenting the point of view of our people to United Nations, but I suppose they are powerless. Yet is there not the Security Council? Do you think it is altogether powerless?"

A letter from France: "How can the United Nations succeed when the greatest democracy on earth, only a few months after the war, has stopped lend-lease? When we were in the Resistance, fighting against the most cruel of all political regimes—nazism—we were told that the allies would remain united not only for victory but also for the reconstruction of a better world."

A letter from India puts the question thus: "We here think that the American Atom Bomb Civilization is the great menace in the world today. There can be no hope of peace until this Bomb is blasted away in the Atlantic Ocean. There the Atlantic Charter was sunk, too, before it was scarcely born. Is there any remedy for our anxiety? Can any hope be put in United Nations? We are very fearful not."

And from Korea: "You know I speak for our people when I say we are sunk into despair. How hopefully we looked forward to our freedom and yet we are in worse condition today than ever before. How can we reach United Nations? Can peoples' voices be heard there? We are told it is no use."

From Germany: "But we are told that the voice of peoples cannot reach into United Nations any more than the voices of those who were locked in concentration camps could be heard outside. Can it be true?"

From Japan: "Can you tell me what is the true meaning of freedom and democracy? Will United Nations some time teach the world these two things? But we do not hear anything about United Nations."

These are random questions from different parts of the world. They come, of course, from distressed peoples. It may be that United Nations in its present stage can scarcely be expected to heed such peoples, especially when they have no way of presenting their own case. Yet India presented the case of South African Indians very successfully to United Nations, and more recently the case of Indonesia was at least presented, and by Indonesians. Perhaps these distressed peoples are too impatient. It is natural, of course, to be impatient when one is living in chaos—or, for that matter, even in annoyance. There is my friend in Korea who lives just inside the American zone. Three miles away in the Russian zone lies his family cemetery, where his ancestors are buried. His father lies there, too. His old mother is over ninety and still lives. But she expects her death any day and is in constant anxiety for fear she will have to be buried away from her husband. As matters are now, there is no way to get to the family cemetery.

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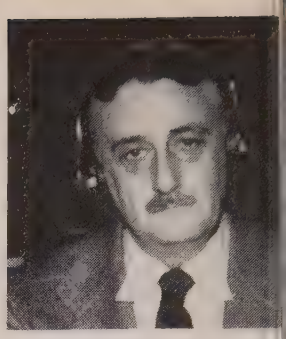


"Here in my own country too, is an ever-deepening anxiety that the United Nations will fail, and almost frantic determination that it must *not* fail. The people are heart and soul behind UN. They don't kn why it is not succeedin

This seems a very tiny trouble in view of the huge ones, and yet it typifies much. The whole family is disgusted and angered by the folly of the situation and the injustice of the old mother's being put to such sadness in her last days, merely for the pleasure of two power-loving foreign nations. Out of this small situation a community-wide anger has developed, and the news has traveled even across the sea, so that some Koreans here are angry. What angers them is the fact that the human being is becoming of less and less worth as the two major powers in the world rush on their senseless way to war, dragging the whole world with them. Where is United Nations?

Ever-Deepening Anxiety

Here in my own country, too, there is an ever-deepening anxiety over the very same question that distresses my friends abroad. The American people are heart and soul behind United Nations, they want it to succeed, but they don't know why it is not succeeding. Some people think it is because of the veto and Russia's stubbornness; some people have a disturbed feeling that the United States has something to do with it, too. But they don't know. They feel helpless. They pour out letters to any well known person asking if there is something they can do. "Must we just sit and watch this last hope against war sink into weakness and die? What can we do?"

In some such disturbance myself I went out to United Nations to take a look around. Yes, it is still there, out at Lake Success. I lost my way trying to find it, but I imagine this is not unusual. I knew when I had got there finally because I saw a circle of brightly colored flags flying in the hot dry wind of an August day. I determined to put aside both fear and hope, and let my mind be as impressionable as possible before I went in, so that when I came out I could gather up these impressions and relay them to my questioning friends, especially to those across the seas, who cannot get tickets—or visas into the United States—to see United Nations for themselves.

I liked straight away the simplicity of the place. Low, functionally designed buildings give an air of thrift and work. I regret the huge skyscrapers now being planned for the future home of UN. At least I am glad that UN has had its start in plain simple buildings. They are plenty good, as good as any clean restaurant or office building in any city and that is enough. More would be luxury and the delegates ought not to live or work in luxury, for that will separate UN still further from the distressed and doubting peoples.

The place is aircooled, and that is sensible, for more work can be done. I liked it that everybody's name was on the direction placards. You can find an assistant or a typist as well as you can find the top men. I felt it somehow comforting and even inspiring to see in plain capital letters on a white wall SECTION ON MINORITIES and ANTI-DISCRIMINATION DIVISION OF HUMAN RIGHTS and on the opposite w SECTION ON THE STATUS WOMEN. I stood there for a minutes between these walls and something hopeful stirring in mind. Then they are thinking talking about these things?

There are pleasant lounges wh delegates can gather and talk. T is important. The delegates ought meet in friendly ways as hum beings. I liked the cafeteria wh people have to wait on themselv It is large, plain, clean and light color. There is a stand where ma azines and newspapers from ma countries can be bought. I saw hea quarterlies and bright picture mag zines, and I was especially divert when a little French boy saunter up and bought a copy of Walt D ney's comics.

I wanted to see members alo of course, in their offices. I want to put my questions to them straig and I hoped they could answer truthfully. They were honest men, felt that, and I was enormously hea ened by it. Maybe they only show me the honest ones, but that is right. It is the honest men and wom upon whom the world depends. T rest of them can cause a lot of gri but they go down sooner or later— for example, Hitler. I talked to m from many countries. There are many women in United Nations plenty of them at home, of cour but not at Lake Success. After I h listened to the men, I was hearten by what they were but frightened what they said. They all feel th UN is the last bulwark against w

ere are some of the things they id:

"When the UN ends, it is war."

"One cannot defend the Dutch be-avior in Indonesia, and yet the truth f it is they have come to believe at Indonesia is not going to be ee anyway—the United States is lanning to move right in—oh no, ot to take the government, of course, ut to capture the resources and take he trade. There's no freedom pos-ible, perhaps. So the Dutch said, why should not we keep it, after all ve have done there?' It is difficult o say these things openly but we'll ave to find a way to do it, I sup-ose."

"The American people can afford to e idealistic because they are not ungry. Not being hungry, they sim-ly cannot understand the rest of the orld."

"Americans were angry with the ndian delegation because they sought ussian support for their case in outh Africa. But Americans ought o remember that India went to Soviet ussia for support only when the nited States refused it. That is a airly general situation. The United tates gets the first chance. When she efuses, Soviet Russia gets it. The ore one refuses, the more the other ets."

"I'll tell you the difference between he Americans and the Russians. The ussians are afraid UN will hamper heir policy and the Americans want o make the UN the instrument to urther their policy."

After some hours of this I began o get more and more frightened. "Is UN doomed to fail?" I asked his question directly now. There eemed no use in hedging around ny more.

s There Still Time?

An intelligent elderly statesman of Europe got the question first. He con-idered and then he answered some-hing like this:

"There is still time to make UN ucceed, but I should say we are ap-roaching the critical period, which nay be a matter only of months. We are working under very primary handicaps. In the first place, our best men are dead. We cannot expect great men for a long time. Two wars have killed off our best. We must do with what we have.

"Second, we have the lack of co-operation between the two leading powers in the world. It is an immense obstacle. Perhaps we cannot surmount it.

"Third, and this is most serious of all, the peoples of all countries, and especially of the United States and Russia, do not use United Nations. Let me repeat this important fact: *The people have nowhere made their governments use the United Nations.*"

I put my question to many persons, and their answers centered on these same three points but particularly on the last two. I found a very deep distress among the men who are working in UN, a fear lest UN be forced to an untimely end before its powers have even been tried, because the two strongest nations are determined, apparently, to pursue their separate and conflicting policies without using UN as a place for discussion, compromise and agreement, and because the peoples of the world are not using UN.

Mindful, on my part, of the questions which these very people are asking, I put the next question to these men in the UN:

"But is there any way in which peoples can come direct to UN and speak for themselves? You must remember that in some countries the people are protesting against their own governments, the very governments who have seats here in UN. Is there no way for these people to reach UN directly and present their own case against a dictatorial government?"

In sum, the answer to this was: there is no way in which individuals can present a case to the UN. This would be to subject the UN to cranks and crackpots. There is no way in which a local organization of people within a nation can come direct to UN. Certain international organizations, however, have the privilege of direct approach, such as, for example, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Chamber of Commerce, etc.

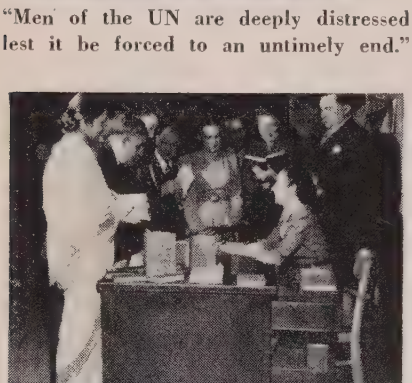
Here, I feel, is a distinct defect in UN organization. I can see that this body cannot be at the mercy of individual complaints, but there should be some way in which a large enough number of people—say, in China or Soviet Russia or the United States or anywhere else—who feel that their government is pursuing a policy disastrous to world security, could tell UN what they think and ask the Security Council to take notice.

I asked next whether it were not possible for people of a nation to have their own directly elected representatives to UN. At present the delegates are chosen in many ways

"Upon the immense table were set low standards with the names of the nations. Behind each name was a man. Behind the man I saw the millions of people, waiting."

"They are men who have given up their own countries in order to serve the world."

"Men of the UN are deeply distressed lest it be forced to an untimely end."



"I was pleased that so many were young, and looked good, hopeful and intelligent."

"In pleasant lounges, the delegates can meet in friendly ways as human beings."

but none are really the representatives of the peoples. Sometimes a king just sends over some of his relatives, or as in our own country, the United States, the President appoints the delegates and the Senate confirms—or does not. But this is very far from having our own representatives in UN. Even the Senate can only refuse, it cannot name.

I asked, "Isn't it possible for the people to choose, say, two out of the five delegates now appointed by the government?" The answer to this was unanimous. "Quite possible—if people will wake up and demand it. It is easily possible, at the very least, to have the representatives chosen by the peoples' elected representatives instead of appointed by someone in the government."

The People Must Wake Up

There it was again—the people have to wake up! Just as I found hope and doubt among people about UN I found in UN doubt and hope about the peoples.

After the end of many hours of such talk I was, on the whole, heartened and encouraged. I walked slowly through the wide plain halls, looking at the faces of people from every country. I was pleased that so many of them were young. I was pleased that so many of them looked good and hopeful and intelligent. Then I saw wide doors into which people were going. It was the meeting of the Security Council. I went in and took my seat in an audience of very every-day sort of people. They were the ones who would be in any ordinary motion picture theater, except that there was a wider sprinkling of Chinese, Japanese, Puerto Ricans, South Americans and people from other countries. But most of them were just Americans, both dark and white. There were a surprising number of young people, some even school children. Since it was vacation, they must have come because they wanted to come.

The audience sat in a huge semi-circle, facing an immense table, also in a semi-circle. Upon this table were

set low standards, holding cards which were printed in clear letters the names of the nations hind each name was a man. It one solemn to see that array. Be them I saw all the millions of ple, waiting. The audience was tening intently to a speech being by the delegate from Poland, sp ing in behalf of Egypt's freedom against colonialism. It was a speech, all the sentiments were r and yet I could feel a gravit doubt, in the audience. I looke the eyes of people around me and were not looking at the Po speaker, on the left side of the t but at Gromyko, sitting on the r side, near Cadogan of England Johnson of the United States. audience itself sat immobile thro the long speech and there was no plause. But perhaps applause is allowed in the Security Council, a way.

To me it was not the speech was hopeful, but the people and fact that they were there. Never fore in the world's history has s a thing been possible, that people the street, the men and women have to pay for the wars and wh sons must fight the wars and be ki never before have these people b able to sit in the presence of gove ments and hear what is being s What is the effect on the delega I wonder? Are they aware of t listening crowd, those people come in for fifteen minutes at lu time, for an hour after work, to h what *They* say? I cannot believe t there is no effect. I wish that writers of those letters in China Korea and Japan and their like every country could come and sit that audience. Maybe it would w them up to a determination never let UN die, to keep it at all costs, the last hope of mankind bef destruction breaks.

. . . I have been thinking over t visit to UN and trying to gather i one hand all my thoughts. Here t are:

What is the matter with the wor On the wall of one of the offices wh

sited there is tacked a photograph out of a magazine. It is the only ture on that undecorated wall. It ws two little American boys, rcely more than babies. One of m is weeping most bitterly. He is pty-handed. The other one, a long- ned, beautiful child, wears on his e a look of angelic calm. There no sign that he hears his weeping ghbor or even knows he exists. each hand this bland child holds ice cream cone, his own and his ghbor's. He is eating both, licking m with profound enjoyment. This the world.

e UN Concept

e concept of UN is exactly the posite. It is designed to keep little ys from taking ice cream cones ay from other little boys. It is nned so that cooperation and not mpetition will be the order of the rld. The concept is profound and ge, but it is simple and practicable. course small boys must be cured the desire to snatch ice cream es from others. They may even e to be punished. The UN has not been given—or it has not de- ed—a way of punishing small boys. mething has to be done about that. I was impressed by the quality of Secretariat. I did not talk with egates. I suppose they are as good and no better than their respective vernments. But the men who are real working people in the UN the ones who have given up their n countries and have sworn them- ves to the service of the world. is an inspiring and solemn oath. re it is:

"I solemnly swear (undertake, af- n, promise) to exercise in all loy- y, discretion, and conscience the ctions entrusted to me as a mem- of the international service of the ited Nations, to discharge those ctions and regulate my conduct h the interests of the United Na- ns only in view, and not to seek accept instructions in regard to performance of my duties from Government or other authority ernal to the Organization."

"I saw a circle of brightly colored flags flying in the hot dry wind of an August day, and the low, functional buildings which lent an air of thrift and work."

Here is the beginning of a world-minded group which can grow to include all people who want to put the welfare of the world first, above nationalistic and selfish interests. This is worth saving.

I did not meet the Secretary-General and I have never met him and I know very little about him. Therefore I can say what I am now going to say. It seems to me that the Secretary-General of the United Nations has the greatest job in the world, a job calling for every ounce of strength and righteousness and wisdom that mortal man can possess. He must be more than a mere moderator, infinitely more than a conciliator, far above a compromise between quarreling nations, although hidden in his greatness he must also possess these qualities. Next to the peoples of the world themselves, I should put the responsibility for the success of UN—nay, the responsibility for its very life—squarely upon the shoulders of the Secretary-General. If he can be great enough for this greatest of all jobs he alone can save UN, for he has the right to call upon the peoples to help him. The UN Charter specifically states:

"The Secretary General may bring to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security. Furthermore, the Secretary General shall make an annual report to the General Assembly on the work of the Organization."

But it will take a great man to dare to use his rights fearlessly, a man who puts principle above expediency and mankind above men.

Will the UN live? I do not know because I do not know whether the peoples will insist upon its being kept alive. If they do not insist, I fear the governments may kill it.

To the people who have asked many questions, and this includes myself, I can only say, the UN is full of potential good for the future of the world. It is good enough to live, to grow, to become what we need, a talking place for many points of view, a place for compromise and agreement, a place to seek justice and find it, a means of peace. Yes, I believe it can be made into an instrument for permanent peace. But this will come to pass only if the peoples insist upon it and compel their governments to use UN as it can and should be used.

UNITED NATIONS

WHAT IS IT?

THE UNITED NATIONS is an organization of sovereign states which have solemnly pledged themselves to join their efforts in order to maintain international peace, to cooperate on the solution of economic, social and cultural problems of international importance, and to promote human rights for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

HOW DOES IT OPERATE?

The UN functions through six principal branches, called "organs" in the language of the Charter:

- THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY is the parliamentary body of the UN.
- THE SECURITY COUNCIL is responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security.
- THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL has the duty of promoting the welfare of mankind in the economic, social and humanitarian fields.
- THE TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL protects the welfare of the peoples in dependent areas.
- THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE administers international law and justice.
- THE SECRETARIAT is the permanent international administration for carrying out the decisions of the UN for the maintenance of peace and security, and promoting the welfare of mankind.

U N : MA

TRUSTEESHIP COUNCIL

Comprises all countries administering dependent areas, the Big Five, and others elected by the Assembly. However, charter provides that in all cases half of members must be administering powers while the other half must have no dependent areas under them.

ATOMIC ENERGY

REGIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

SECURITY COUNCIL

11 members: 5 permanent (U.S., U.S.S.R., U.K., France and China); 6 non-permanent members elected by General Assembly. Paramount function: to preserve the peace. Can take direct action (diplomatic, economic, military sanctions) by a majority of 7 including the votes of all the Big Five.

MILITARY STAFF

INVESTIGATION

CONVENTIONAL ARMAMENTS

NERY FOR PEACE

MAIN COMMITTEES

CONOMIC AND NANCIAL

POLITICAL AND SECURITY

SOCIAL, HUMANITARIAN AND CULTURAL

LEGAL

ENERAL ASSEMBLY

e nations are represented on a basis of absolute
. The Assembly, main body of the UN, meets
ly, and in special sessions when required. It
es reports from all other UN branches. The
embly has the right to examine and make
ommendations on all problems pertain-
ng to the maintenance of peace and the
welfare of mankind. It is the great
moral and political arbiter of
the world.

GENERAL

CREDENTIALS

PROCEDURAL COMMITTEES

THE INTERNATIONAL COURT OF JUSTICE

Comprises 15 judges from different nations elected by the Assembly and Security Council. Settles all legal disputes between nations which are submitted to it. Gives advisory opinions to UN on legal questions. Permanent headquarters: The Hague, Holland.

COMMISSIONS

STATISTICAL

POPULATION

NARCOTIC DRUGS

STATUS OF WOMEN

SOCIAL

FISCAL

TRANSPORT AND COMMUNICATIONS

ECONOMIC AND EMPLOYMENT

HUMAN RIGHTS

COORDINATION

ASIA AND FAR EAST

EUROPE

LATIN AMERICA

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL

18 members elected by the Assembly. Studies and prepares recommendations on matters related to the welfare of mankind. Co-ordinates the activities of various specialized agencies and co-operates with private organizations.

ECONOMIC

DEPARTMENTS

SECURITY COUNCIL AFFAIRS

ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

LEGAL

ADMINISTRATIVE AND FINANCIAL SERVICES

CONFERENCE AND GENERAL SERVICES

THE SECRETARIAT

Permanent international civil service. Major administering organ of the UN. Its head, the Secretary-General, is chief administering officer of the UN. He has the power to draw the Security Council's attention to any situation endangering international peace.

UNITED NATIONS WORLD Chart by James Cutter

BALANCE SHEET *of the FIRST ASSEMBLY*

When the UN General Assembly closed its first session nine months ago in a blaze of efficiency and good-will, it left behind 69 resolutions for execution or implementation. The tabulation below indicates what has happened to 15 of the major resolutions.

RESOLUTION:	IMPLEMENTATION:
. . . aiming at eventual regulation and reduction of armaments, and asking information on armed forces of members.	Commission on Conventional Armaments, established February 13, 1947, bogged down on opposing concepts of security of US and USSR. A draft work plan was adopted June 18. No progress made since.
. . . to reexamine membership applications of Albania, Mongolia, Transjordan, Eire and Portugal.	Applications again rejected August 18, 1947. USSR supported Albania, Mongolia, opposed others. US, UK, Australia and Belgium barred Albania; UK, US and China voted against Mongolia.
. . . Recommending restraint in use of "special voting privilege in Security Council"—veto power of Big Five.	Big Five continues to adhere to principle of unanimity. USSR applied veto on three issues: Corfu, Greece, membership; France on one issue, Indonesia.
. . . Barring Spain from relations with UN agencies and recommending recall of top envoys from Madrid.	ICAO (Civil Aviation Organization) ousted Spain from membership, May 13, 1947. Only Argentina, Dominican Republic, Bolivia maintain ambassadors or ministers in Spain.
. . . asking Economic and Social Council to draft convention on Genocide.	Convention drafted by the Economic and Social Council and submitted to members for comments. In absence of answers, the Council had to postpone report to Assembly.
. . . instructing Economic and Social Council's Human Rights Commission to draft International Bill of Rights.	Due to divergence in approach and linguistic interpretation, no action expected till December meeting of Commission, which will then study working papers of drafting group and draft bill submitted by Secretariat.
. . . asking for the establishment of International Information Conference.	Conference schedule for March 23, 1948; Subcommission evolved five guiding principles for the dissemination of information.
. . . directing South Africa to observe Capetown Agreement of 1927 and UN Charter in treatment of Indian residents.	South Africa remains bound by resolution. Smuts indicated to Nehru of India that South Africa would not abide by it, claiming that treatment of Indians in the Union conforms with international obligations.
. . . rejecting South African request to incorporate South West Africa pending trusteeship agreement.	South Africa advised Secretary-General that while refraining from incorporation of territory, it will administer it under "existing mandate" without relinquishing trusteeship agreement.
. . . concerning progressive development and codification of International Law.	Codification Committee met May 12—June 17, 1947. Will recommend to Second Assembly the establishment of International Law Commission.
. . . concerning agreements with such specialized agencies as ILO, UNESCO, FAO, ICAO, provided latter ousts Spain.	ILO was first agency whose relations with UN were formalized. FAO, UNESCO, ICAO were next. Agreements with World Bank, Monetary Fund, WHO, Postal and Telecommunications Unions, are up for approval by G.A.
. . . approving establishment of International Refugee Organization.	UNRRA ceased operations, with IRO taking over July 1, 1947. It now cares for 900,000 refugees and faces problem of resettling 1,250,000.
. . . on the establishment of World Health Organization.	WHO maintains seven field missions; 10 health committees on medical problems; a global study of VD; and 200 fellowships in 13 countries.
. . . on the establishment of Trusteeship Council.	Trusteeship Council set up and held its first session in March, 1947, with USSR absent from its "reserved seat."
. . . recommending establishment of Economic Commissions for Europe, and for Asia and the Far East.	Set up March 28, European Commission took over functions of 3 emergency agencies. Asian Commission dealt with organizational matters, membership, its geographical scope and terms of reference.

UNITED NATIONS DIARY

A DIGEST OF UN ACTIVITIES THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

THERE are two ways of looking at the UN and last month anyone who followed it closely could see how important both of them are. The observer with eyes fixed only on the Security Council, or its Atomic Energy Commission, gathered the impression that the nations, far from being "united," were engaged in a wolf-pack struggle for power and advantage. Only when the watcher turned his eyes toward the long-range plans of the Economic and Social Council, did he begin to discern a *United* Nations, international and objective, despite the failure of the powers to resolve their conflicts. Yet the two aspects are necessary parts of one and the same thing.

While the Security Council indulged in its usual rough skirmishes, world problems were being studied in calmer vein by other bodies of the UN, and solutions sought which by their absolute fairness would impose themselves upon the nations. There was progress toward UN mastery of the problems of world trade, economic reconstruction of Europe and of Asia, the economic relationships of Eastern and Western Hemispheres. There was likewise continued effort to push forward the frontiers of human rights and human freedoms; the safeguards of labor, the social securities. These things were happening in the UN last month—though their repercussions on the press and air waves were less than the noise of the word battles.

THE SECRETARY GENERAL

Flight to Rio

At midnight, August 12, a big plane flew south from La Guardia Field, carrying Secretary-General Trygve Lie—who three days before had returned to Lake Success from Norway—to Rio de Janeiro in Brazil. Forty-eight hours later he was asleep in the Hotel Quitandinha at Petropolis, forty miles in the hills above Rio. When he arose Friday morning, he could look from his window at the vista of glittering mountain peaks.

The Hotel Quitandinha is one of the most lavish and incongruous in the world. Its architecture is Swiss, its allure that of a European spa. Not long ago, it was South America's gambling mecca, drawing men and women with reckless millions to gorge their appetites for filet mignon, golfing, swimming, riding and hiking by day; and risking their fortunes in the huge rotunda-like casino by night.

The Secretary-General had not come to Brazil to play baccarat, now forbidden by law. He was there as guest of the twenty Pan-American nations scheduled to meet in the baccarat room for the Inter-American Conference for the Maintenance of Continental Peace and Security. It was the first time a representative of a world organization had been asked to such a gathering. On Friday, after the opening of the Conference by Brazil's President Dutra, Mr. Lie solemnly addressed the delegates:

The Hotel Quitandinha at Petropolis,—peace is shaped in the baccarat room

"You come together not only as American states, with the interests of the New World in common, but also as members of the United Nations," he said. "To prevent armed conflict is *one* thing. To take advantage of the peace is *another* thing. Having prepared the basis for a just and lasting peace, it is our duty . . . to see to it that all peoples, wherever they may be, are freed from want and distress and are given real opportunity to enjoy a decent human existence."

The official business at Rio was inter-American defense. Many of the Latin American nations felt that their economic distress was more urgent than any danger of attack, but agreed to postpone their talk of a South American "Marshall Plan" at least until the Conference at Bogota, Colombia, next January. Meanwhile

studies were recently begun by the Secretariat on economic problems affecting millions of Latin Americans. Consultations will take place with regard to establishment of a UN Economic Commission for Latin America, similar to those now functioning for Europe and for Asia. Thus the men at Rio felt themselves linked to an impartial UN, able to fit their local needs into a world pattern.

No Partiality

Another incident last month contributed to the impression of the Secretary-General's own personal impartiality in world affairs. When, in April 1946, he suggested that the Security Council's retention of the Soviet-Iranian issue on its agenda might be illegal, he was accused by some of being pro-Soviet. Recently, after the stalemate on the Greek border issue, he was charged with being pro-Western because he declared that the U Balkan Investigating Commissio created by the Council could onl cease to exist if the Council droppe the issue from its agenda. Viewe in perspective, the two opinions forc the conclusion that Lie takes, as h should, an objective view of the di ferences that divide the Great Power in the United Nations.

THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Too Many Captains

In this storm belt of the UN, the barometer dropped last month to an all-time low. While the seas ran heavy, the real trouble seemed to be that there were five full-fledged captains aboard the international ship.

The last General Assembly requested the permanent members of the Security Council to use the veto with restraint. Eight months later, on August 27, the Council devoted a three-and-one-half hour debate to the veto, then referred the matter to its Committee of experts, in a move which Council President Faris el Khouri of Syria described as "simply an exit." The fact is that all of the Big Five cling to the veto—the U.S. no less than the U.S.S.R.

The veto power granted under the UN Charter stems from the Rooseveltian concept that no peace is secure unless the Great Powers hold together. The stresses of peace, which are often greater than those of war, tend to undermine the application of this concept.

Failure in Greece

Last month vetoes clogged the Council's machinery. On the Greek question, it brought the Council to a grinding halt after sixty sessions devoted to the cause and cure of the sporadic guerrilla war in the Balkans. The U.S. resolution to maintain the Balkan Investigating Commission for at least two years, with powers of conciliation as well as investigation, had been vetoed by U.S.S.R.'s

"A Car is no better than the man behind the wheel." *The Gazette*, Montreal.

Gromyko at the end of July. (See P. 43, Sept. issue.) A Soviet resolution on the Balkan case was voted down a few days later, while Gromyko told the Council that "foreign interference in Greece is sometimes called aid" but is "in reality only a means of economic and political enslavement of Greece by certain powerful states." After various new attempts at action, the Council, with the U.S.S.R. abstaining, adopted a Colombian Resolution setting up a sub-committee to draft an acceptable compromise. The committee quickly reported that it could find no acceptable compromise.

U.S. delegate Herschel V. Johnson tried to break the deadlock with a new resolution declaring that Greece's neighbors were giving support to her guerrillas. He also entered two amendments to an Australian resolution calling on Greece, Albania, Yugoslavia and Bulgaria to reestablish diplomati relations and report to the Counci by Sept. 6. The U.S sought considera tion of "frontier violations along th borders of Greece" under the strong Chapter 7 of the Charter, which deal with threats to the peace.

Both resolutions fell before new Soviet vetoes on August 19, while Australia's Col. Hodgson angrily called the veto "the most vicious instrument ever used by man for preventing the democratic expression o the wishes of the majority." Chairman Faris el Khouri of Syria then ruled that the Council had "no further functions to perform in connection with the Greek question and would have to report so to the General Assembly." Gromyko at once declared that the Council's Balkan Investigating Commission was out of existence, but was later overruled by the Secretary-General's decision.

The disputes in the Council over the Greek question brought serious repercussions that transcended the Greek guerrilla warfare. Sniping among the Big Five took on tragic significance, and caused a sense of foreboding throughout the world.

Storm Over Indonesia

The Council's damaged prestige was temporarily restored by its swift decision of August 1 on Indonesia. The necessity of halting Dutch military action against the Indonesian Republic won quick agreement. Said one international observer: "Just when it looked as if the Security

Council was powerless to act, God in His mercy threw in the Indonesian case!"

But the hope aroused by the Council's "cease fire" message was of short duration. Both sides reported compliance. But the fighting continued, and gained in intensity. While blood flowed in Jáva and Sumatra, Dr. Pillai of India sadly remarked: "The world seems to have rejoiced too soon!"

Council disputes involved three main issues: 1) the U.S. offer to mediate, assailed by Gromyko as an effort to by-pass the UN; 2) the competence of the Security Council to act, denied by the Netherlands; 3) the method by which the Council's "cease fire" order could be supervised.

The U.S. mediation offer, as interpreted by Herschel V. Johnson, was only a proposal to serve as "go-between" in direct negotiations between the Netherlands and the Indonesian Republic. The U.S. offer was immediately accepted by the Dutch. The Republic reported its preference for an arbitration commission, to be established by the UN. Failing to get "unconditional" acceptance, the U.S. withdrew its offer.

"The danger is chain reaction."
The Evening News, Newark, N. J.

Dr. Eelco N. van Kleffens, Netherlands Ambassador, warned the Security Council that its "cease fire" order was a "very dangerous technique" of interference in internal affairs. The Republic, he insisted, is not sovereign, though its independence within an eventual Dutch Commonwealth was established by the Cheribon Accord.

As thin, stern-faced Dr. van Kleffens accused the Indonesians and called on the Council to let the Dutch Government "stop their murder and destruction," diminutive dark-eyed Soetan Sjahrir, Indonesia's Ambassador-at-large, sat listening. Both knew that the Republican Commander-in-Chief had declared: "It is better for the country to become a sea of flames rather than a colony again."

After a month of vacillation, the Council made two decisive moves on August 25. It voted to ask consuls of the member nations stationed in Batavia to supervise the truce and send reports. A Soviet proposal to establish a Security Council Commission in Indonesia was killed by a French veto. The Council also voted to tender its "good offices" to both sides for mediation. The following day it reminded the Dutch and Indonesians of the August 1 "cease fire" order and called upon them to adhere to it.

Before laying aside the Indonesian case, the Council rejected a Belgian motion, supported by France, the U.K. and the U.S., to ask the International Court whether it was competent to act on Indonesia at all. Col. Hodgson charged that Belgian colonial interests had prompted the resolution, while Sir Alexander Cadogan of the United Kingdom expressed surprise that members were prepared to take decisions without first clearing up the question of the Council's authority.

Deadlock in Egypt

Cadogan was probably thinking of the Egyptian case, also awaiting settlement, about which he had declared: "This is a matter for negotiation by agreement between the parties. It is *not* a matter which can fittingly be brought before the Security Council."

Portly, firm-jawed Fahry Nokrashy Pasha, Prime Minister of Egypt, violently disagreed. He described tension resulting from continued British occupation of Egypt and the Sudan as a "menace to peace."

Egypt's complaint to the Security Council was in reality a move to bring its struggle for freedom and sovereignty once more before the court of world opinion. The issue is an old one, dating back to the British occupation of Egypt in 1898, when Gen. Kitchener, at the head of a British and Egyptian Army, quelled the revolt of the Sudanese, and became "the hero of Khartoum." The Nile, rising in the heart of Africa, flows more than 2,000 miles through the Sudan before reaching Egypt. It is the bloodstream of Egypt on which the nation depends for irrigation, power and life itself. To Britain, entrenchment in the upper Nile has enormous strategic importance. To

Agoes Selim, Indonesian Minister for Foreign Affairs, waits at Lake Success.

the people of the Sudan, there is the issue of their own freedom; whether it is to be total, or in federation with Egypt under one crown. The Sudan has been jointly ruled by Britain and Egypt, but Egypt's part in it has been nominal since 1924.

Last month, while Prime Minister Nokrashy Pasha pressed his nation's case before the Security Council, two delegations of dark-skinned men, in robes and turbans or in business suits, arrived at Lake Success to present the Sudanese views. One group was for federation with Egypt, the other for freedom from both Britain and Egypt. The problem was further complicated by the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty which, Egypt maintains, was superseded by the freedom guarantees of the UN Charter.

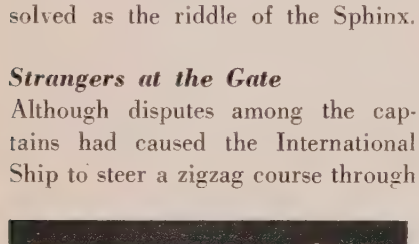
Possible action ranged all the way from removing the case from the Council's agenda, as suggested by Cadogan, to treating it as a serious threat to peace in the Middle East—

a contention in which Egypt was strongly supported by Syria. While U.S.S.R.'s Gromyko informally stated that British troops should be withdrawn, Mr. Katz-Suchy of Poland supported the right of Egypt to bring the case before the Council.

Many in the Council appeared ginger-fingered when it came to tampering with a situation involving an international treaty, and eager to see it settled by direct negotiation between Britain and Egypt. Brazil's resolution to that effect was variously amended by China, the U.K., Belgium and Australia, but failed of a majority. Colombia offered a new one, calling for direct negotiation, but outlining as specific aims: evacuation of British troops as quickly as possible; mutual assistance and safeguards for the Suez Canal in the event of a war threat; self-determination for the Sudanese. Russia, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Poland and Australia declared it "unacceptable." It was voted down, paragraph by paragraph. The Security Council then adjourned for a ten day vacation, leaving the Egyptian question as unsolved as the riddle of the Sphinx.

Strangers at the Gate

Although disputes among the captains had caused the International Ship to steer a zigzag course through



Sudanese spokesmen Ismael el Azhari (left) and Sheik Sayed Siddik el-Mahdi.

explosive world situations, a number of would-be passengers last month were clamoring to get aboard. Only two made it. Membership in the UN is open to "peace-loving" states able and willing to carry out Charter obligations. They must first be accepted by the Security Council, then be approved by the General Assembly.

Only countries to get safely past the veto of the Big Five were *Pakistan*, new Moslem nation carved out of India, herself a member; and *Yemen*, Moslem absolute monarchy at the tip of the Arabian peninsula. All the rest drew vetoes from East or West. On August 18, Gromyko vetoed applications of Trans-Jordan, Portugal and Eire; the U. S. and Britain opposed those of Albania and Outer Mongolia, with China also opposing the latter. On the occasion of Italy's application for membership, which Russia also opposed, the general agreement was that none of the Axis satellite powers would be admitted before the peace treaties are ratified. Since then, the USSR has ratified the treaties. People wonder whether the question will be reopened.

Progress on the Atom

The Security Council's Atomic Energy Commission was preparing last month a second progress report for the Council and the General Assembly. The first dealt with safeguards necessary at the various stages of atomic energy production. The second was concerned with the powers and functions of an International Control Agency. Feeling ran high in the Commission that a better grasp of atomic problems has been reached than the public realizes.

On the credit side of the atomic ledger, there was agreement that: 1) the International Agency shall determine policies regarding production; 2) there must be no stockpiling of atomic material by any nation for its anticipated uses; 3) a system of quotas shall be applied to the use of nuclear fuel—a view strongly supported even by U.S.S.R. and Poland; 4) deposits of uranium and other ores, which are the raw material of atomic energy, must be depleted proportionately, since countries where such ores exist do not want to be stripped of deposits while other countries are still well supplied; 5) certain limitations shall be placed on the operation of the International Agency *within* any country, since it impinges on sovereignty, and government should be informed of inspections.

It was in the field of limitations on the International Agency that the broadest chasm existed between the U.S.S.R. and the majority of the nations represented on the Commission. Most felt that the Control Agency must have complete authority over the disposition of nuclear fuel, from the mining of the ores to their refining; and that the Agency itself should own the resulting power and sell it to the nations at a price sufficient to cover costs of the atomic projects. The U.S.S.R. takes a totally different stand. As Gromyko insisted last month to the Commission, his nation considers that international control of atomic energy does not call for ownership, management or licensing by the international control organ. But he denied that the U.S.S.R.'s proposals mean "national" rather than "international" control. The Soviet proposals will not be included in the progress report of the Commission, which on Aug. 15 adopted a Canadian resolution to the effect that they do not constitute a satisfactory basis for international control of atomic energy.

There are other topics which the Commission has not yet fully explored. They include organization of the International Control Agency; type of representation to be accorded to countries furnishing atomic raw materials and to those with special scientific knowledge; the sanctions to be invoked against offender nations; the stage at which atomic bombs must be destroyed.

While reports revealed progress, experts pointed out that the world's political climate is a determining factor in atomic decisions. Many felt that the will of the Great Powers to cooperate in keeping the peace must *precede* atomic controls rather than follow them, and that even a perfect plan for control of atomic energy would be powerless unless political dissensions can be neutralized.

KEEPERS OF THE WORLD'S CONSCIENCE

A Report of the Economic and Social Council

BY JÁN PAPÁNEK

Acting President of the Council and Chief of the Czechoslovakian Delegation

ATTEMPTS have been made both within and outside the United Nations to settle political and economic problems. Uncertainty as to where responsibility for proper solutions belongs has both deterred and prevented a final postwar settlement.

Yet, even in this unfavorable international atmosphere, the Economic and Social Council considered all 39 items on its agenda with wholehearted interest and great energy. Its 18 members were always aware that they represented not only their own countries but all 55 members of the United Nations. Rising to their great responsibility, they made their decisions during the four weeks' session by agreement rather than by majority vote.

Of the many important decisions I shall mention only a few. The Council called two international conferences of great consequence within the next six months, one on Trade and Employment, the other on the Freedom of Information and of the Press. It concluded five agreements with important specialized agencies, the Universal Postal Union, the World Health Organization, International Telecommunications Union, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the International Monetary Fund. It approved reports of several of its commissions, among them the Economic Commission for Europe and the Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. It prepared for creation of a similar commission for Latin America. The specialized agencies have begun to cooperate closely with the Council, and they and the non-governmental agencies brought many extremely useful suggestions.

In the social field the Council has embarked on a new project, the results of which may be of far greater significance than its small beginning would seem to indicate. The Council is granting fellowships to social workers to make comparative studies of the newest and best methods of work developed in various countries. The United Nations Appeal for Children is being organized to ask the citizens of all countries, in all walks of life, for voluntary contributions to alleviate the suffering of children, whose survival is essential to world recovery.

Eleven commissions and several sub-commissions have thus far been established by the Council. Ten specialized agencies and dozens of non-governmental organizations, with consultative status of varying degrees, cooperate with the Council. Their numbers will increase, and the Economic and Social Council will increasingly serve as coordinator, to prevent the overlapping of their work.

A Spirit of Solidarity

The faith of the world's people in the ability of the United Nations to maintain universal peace and to promote a fuller life for all, would be strengthened if they realized what a spirit of solidarity and cooperation prevailed in the Economic and Social Council during its four weeks' session. With few exceptions the press seems at present to emphasize only the political phase of UN and the highly controversial issues, while it gives but cursory notice to the positive results achieved by UN in the economic and social field.

There were, of course, differences of opinion on economic and social problems. No matter how much time, effort and goodwill are expended, these will not disappear unless we admit their existence and understand on what they are based. They result from varied conditions and circumstances in the historical development of each of the Council members. Such differences were most in evidence during discussion of the agenda for the international conference on Freedom of Information and of the Press. The majority of the members rejected the proposal that the conference should concern itself with the fight against fascism and the remnants of fascism. Differences were marked, too, on the world oil problem, and the majority rejected the motion that a study be made.

The Council's Purpose

Yet the Council's purpose is not to prove that one particular economic and social theory or practice is the only acceptable one. Its role is to find the common denominator of all our economic and social systems—always bearing in mind the aim of the United Nations: to provide a fuller life for all people in a peaceful world, to reduce existing inequalities by raising the lowest standards of living to a high level as quickly as possible, in spite of variations in previous development and economies.

The fifth session of the Economic and Social Council achieved a broad measure of success, not only in coping with economic and social problems, but also in developing a harmonious and reasonable cooperative spirit in the work of the United Nations.

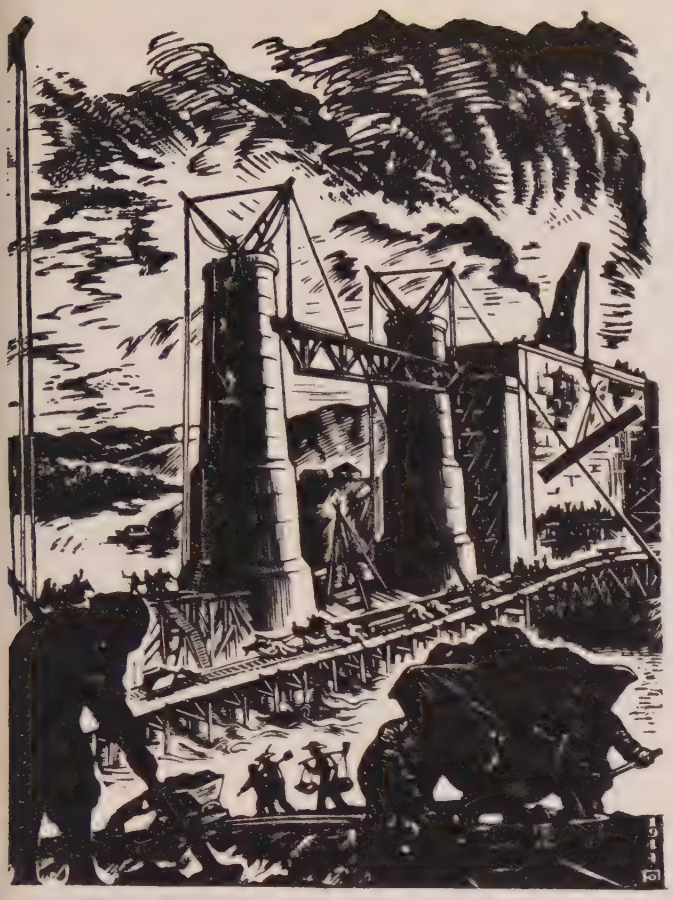
★ *OCTOBER 1947*

CALENDAR OF WORLD EVENTS

With Some Additional Information Culled from Calendars and Almanacs from All Over the Wor

DAYS OF THE MONTH. BIRTHS, DEATHS, MARRIAGES AND FESTIVALS	*IMPORTANT EVENTS*	*HISTORICAL ANNIVERSARIES NOTES, COMMENTS AND FORECASTS*
1. W. Vladimir Horowitz born (1904) James Lawrence born (1781)	**ECE* Eur. Inl. Transp't. Comm., Geneva** Pheasant season opens, Great Britain	Nazi troops crossed Czech border (1938) Korea annexed by Japan (1910)
2. T. Mohandas Gandhi born (1869) Albert, Belg., wed Eliz. (1900)	International Automobile Show, Paris Am. Mortgage Bankers Assoc. Mtg., Cleveland	1st Pan-American Conf. held, Wash, (1889) 1st Canadian Legisl. Assembly met (1756)
3. F. Soldiers Day, Honduras Miles Standish died (1656)	Horse Racing, Newcastle, England Pig Fair, Clonbur, Galway, Eire	Honest men wed soon, wise men never. *Ital.P* U.S. chosen as site of UN (1945)
4. S. Jean Millet born (1814) Rembrandt died (1669)	Fiesta, Autlan, Jalisco, Mexico Swiss Fair & Vintage Fete, Lugano, Switz.	Pigs would live longer if they didn't make hogs of themselves. *Agric. Alm.*
5. S. Independence Day, Bulgaria Denis Diderot born (1713)	Nice to Paris Motorcycle Race, France Horticultural Show, Paris	Portuguese Republic established (1910) *F'cast:* no serious int'l discords. *O. Moore's*
6. M. Lord Tennyson died (1892) Wm. Tyndale burned (1536)	**Narcotic Drugs Supervis. Body, Geneva** Nat'l Safety Cong. & Exposition, Chicago	1st German immigrants reach America (1683) Shidehara named Japanese Premier (1945)
7. T. Niels Bohr born (1885) Hans Holbein died (1543)	**ECE Housing Problems Panel, Geneva** **IATA‖ Traffic Committee, Rio de Janeiro**	Capt. Cook rediscovered N. Zealand (1769) Stamp Act Congress met in New York (1765)
8. W. Wendell Willkie died (1944) Henry Fielding died (1754)	International Skal-Clubs Congress, Geneva Horse Racing, Lingfield Park, England	Eggs & oaths are easily broken. *Danish Pr.* War in the Balkans began (1912)
9. T. Saint-Saëns born (1835) Alex. I, Yugos., ass. (1934)	East-Swiss Agric. Exhib., St. Gall, Swit. St. Ghislain Celebration, Hainaut, Belgium	Early to bed, early to rise, and you'll never meet any Prominent guys. *Inf. Pls.*
10. F. Independence Day, China Guiseppi Verdi born (1813)	**ECE Electric Power Committee, Geneva** Fourth Nat'l Exhibition of Arts, Nanking	O'Leary's cow started Chicago fire (1871) Revolution of Yara, Cuba (1868)
11. S. Eleanor Roosevelt born (1884) Ulrich Zwingli killed (1531)	General Fishing Exhib. & Fair, Helsinki Irish Cambridgeshire, Curragh, Eire	Boer War began (1899) Typhoon swept Okinawa & Japan (1945)
12. S. Columbus Day Pedro I, Brazil, born (1798)	Spring Carnivals, Chile Rapier Champ'ship of Switzerland, Lausanne	Int'l bridge—Argentina-Brazil, opened (1945) A comet 1st discovered by photography (1892)
13. M. Anatole France died (1924) Rudolf Virchow born (1821)	**Permanent Central Opium Bd., Geneva** C.I.O. National Convention, Boston	Fourth French Republic established (1946) Women permitted to vote in Japan (1945)
14. T. Gen. Eisenhower born (1890) Eamon de Valera born (1882)	**IATA Ann. Gen'l Mtg., Petrop., Brzl.** 31st Streekbeurs, Bergen-op-Zoon, Holland	1st Baby Show held, Springfield, O. (1854) Battle of Hastings (1066)
15. W. Nietzsche born (1844) Mata Hari exec. (1917)	**ECE Indust. & Materials Com., Geneva** 6th Pan-Am. Congress of Architects, Lima	Ether demonstrated as an anesthetic (1846) Gregorian cal. adptd Eur. Cath. lands (1582)
16. T. Eugene O'Neill born (1888) Oscar Wilde born (1854)	Railroad Exposition, Neuchâtel, Switzerland American Training Directors Society, Detroit	New Zealand became British colony (1840) John Brown raided Harpers Ferry (1859)
17. F. Chopin died (1849) Sir Philip Sidney died (1586)	**ECE Committee on Coal, Geneva** Royal Horticultural Soc. Show, Southampton	Carpets are bought by the yard— worn out by the foot. *Agric. Alm.*
18. S. Alaska Day, Alaska Charles F. Gounod d. (1893)	Czechoslovak Automobile Show, Prague National Metal Exposition, Chicago	U.S. formally took over Puerto Rico (1898) England's last state lottery held (1826)
19. S. John Adams born (1735) Jonathan Swift died (1745)	Swiss Ladies' Foil Champ'ship, Basle Women's Open Golf Tourn., San Antonio, Tex.	Big Three Conference opened, Moscow (1943) This is a good month to plant trees. *O.Farm*
20. M. John Dewey born (1859) Grace Darling died (1842)	**ICAO § Spec. Conf. on Internat. Civil Air Transp. Comm'l Rights, Rio de J.**	Minerva Soc.,1st US woman's club, org. (1859) Death keeps no calendar. *Dutch Proverb.*
21. T. Jean Grolier died (1565) S.T. Coleridge born (1772)	**WHO † Comm. on Death Causes, Geneva** Fair, La Paz, Honduras	Battle of Trafalgar (1805) Edison invented incandescent lamp (1879)
22. W. Franz Liszt born (1811) Abel J. Tasman died (1659)	Dickens Celebration, Broadstairs, Eng. Metropolitan Lithographers Assoc, Detroit	Edict of Nantes revoked (1685) Miller's f'cast—world's end, Oct. 22, 1844
23. T. Cézanne died (1906) Picasso born (1891)	Institute of Chartered Accountants, Brighton Associated Massachusetts Industries, Boston	UN General Assembly opened (1946) Monty routed Rommel, El Alamein (1942)
24. F. Bernardo O'Higgins d. (1843) van Leewenhoek born (1632)	"Runaway Mop," Old Custom, Stratf'd-on-Avon Horse Racing, Doncaster, England	*Diet note:* a 4th helping at the church bean supper should be sternly refused. *O. Farm.*
25. S. City Day, Lisbon Chaucer died (1400)	Gastronomic Fair, Dijon Champion Stakes, The Curragh, Eire	Battle of Agincourt (1415) Rome-Berlin Axis formed (1936)
26. S. von Moltke born (1800) Collodi died (1890)	Golf Champ'ships of Cent'l Switz., Lugano Onion Fair, Waterford, Eire	To keep venomous snakes from living in the manure pile, bury oakwood in it. *O. Farm.*
27. M. Navy Day, U.S. Brutus died (42 B.C.)	**ILO ‡ Prep. Regional Cnf., New Delhi** Metal Mining Convention, El Paso, Texas	New York subway opened to public (1904) Mussolini formed Fascist Cabinet (1922)
28. T. Independence Day, Czechosl. Erasmus born (1466)	National Dairy Show, London Pennsylvania State Grange, New Castle, Pa.	Cuba discovered by Columbus (1492) De Wet's Rebellion, Sou. Africa (1914)
29. W. John Keats born (1795) Joseph Pulitzer died (1911)	Western Nat'l Cage Bird Show, Bath, Eng. Flower Show, Bognor Regis, England	Turkish Republic proclaimed (1923) U.S. stock market crash (1929)
30. T. Adm. Wm. F. Halsey b. (1882) Richard B. Sheridan b. (1751)	Horse Racing, Limerick, Eire Exmoor Pony Fair, Bampton, Devon, Eng.	*In Dreams:* a new hat means business success; An old hat means trouble & injury. *O.Moore's*
31. F. Hallowe'en Chiang Kai-shek born (1887)	Cattle Fair, Castletownbere, Eire Autumn Bridge Contest, Harrogate, Eng.	Luther posted his 95 theses (1517) Connecticut's charter hidden in oak (1687)

* Economic Commission for Europe
‖ International Air Transport Association
§ International Civil Aviation Organization
† World Health Organization
‡ International Labor Organization



"RAILWAY BRIDGE" (WOODCUT) BY LIANG YUNG-TAI

THE "ASIATIC CENTURY" IS UPON US

By ROBERT PAYNE

Author of *The Revolt of Asia*

A great change will take place in the course of world history when Asia, with its immense reserves of raw material and manpower, finally becomes fully mechanized. Led by scholar-revolutionaries, a new, purely Asiatic pattern of society is emerging. If the West does not co-operate, warns the author in this article condensed from his forthcoming book, Revolt of Asia, *it may find itself at the mercy of Asia.*

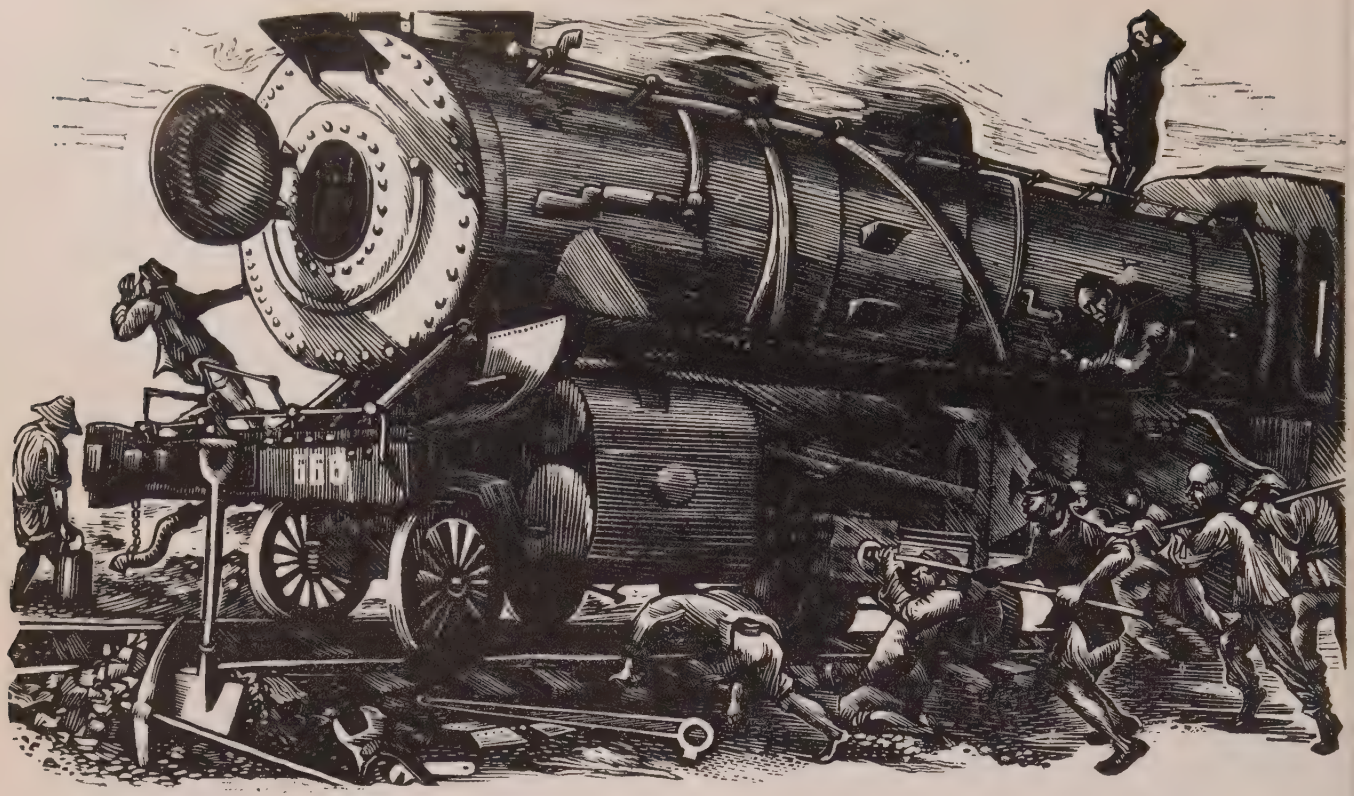
A GREAT EVENT in human history is taking place at the present moment—the revolt of Asia. Decisions made now can affect the future of the East for centuries to come. And not only the East! It is no longer true that the success or failure of the governments of the world depends only upon the rivalries between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. A new emergent concept of government is rising in the Orient. In every village the revolution is making its demands on men: a new consciousness has arisen: the lowest coolies and the greatest princes are pledged to reform. The hungers must be assuaged, the people must be given a new dignity, the will of the people must be made representative, and the old monarchic and colonial system must be destroyed; and what is surprising is not that reform should have come at this time, but that there should be so much unanimity in the minds of the Asiatics upon the methods by which it must come about.

A new leadership has emerged in the East. Its revolutionary record has been one of progressive success. In India, Communist-held China, and Indonesia the blueprints of the revolution were formed on the basis of the American War of Independence. The slogans, the speeches, the particular form of government the leaders envisage, their relations with foreign powers, their desperate search for allies, and their impulse to create a new kind of nationhood—all these spring from motives that were more apparent in America during the Revolution than they were in France or Russia during subsequent revolutions.

Like Jefferson, they realize that an extremist government of any kind introduces by its very existence an entirely opposite extreme. Singlehanded in 1927 Chiang Kai-shek, by his persecution, created the Chinese Communist party, which rose from 3,000 members in 1930 to more than 2,000,000 in 1940. China would have been a happier place to live in if the Whampoa reaction had never taken place. Tan Malakka, old-style Red revolutionary leader of Java, failed in Indonesia for the same reason that Mao Tse-tung has succeeded in north China. Those who offer dignity, food, and stable government will always succeed; those who offer violence and instability and refuse to take into account the traditional graces of the Asiatic civilization will fail.

It would be the greatest tragedy to assume that the revolution of Asia is led by freebooters or storm troopers, or to believe that because the revolutionaries demand their independence, they are necessarily extremists. To an extent unbelievable in the West the scholars, the priests, and the wise still rule.

Jawaharlal Nehru is known even in the West for his historical writings, but it is not generally known that he is an accomplished poet in his native Kashmiri. Mao Tse-tung possesses an omnivorous knowledge of history, a subject to which he has dedicated himself since his thirteenth birthday, and he is famous in China as a poet



"LOCOMOTIVE SALVAGED FROM OCCUPIED AREAS" (WOODCUT) BY HUANG YUNG-TSAN

in the classical tradition. Soetan Sjahrir at the age of thirty-seven has produced seven books on political economy. Abdul Azad, the Moslem President of India's Congress Party, is known from Morocco to the Philippines as a commentator on the Koran. Wang Chung-hui's treatises on law have established new principles. The list is endless. In the West few scholars have power; in the East scholarship is still revered as it was revered in the past, the tradition remains unchanged.

An Emerging Asiatic Bloc

Today the East faces us with its challenge. Already in embryo we can foresee the shape of things to come—the overwhelming manpower and resources placed under the control of an Asiatic bloc. Asia for the Asiatics has come to stay. The nations of Asia, in their relations with other countries, will act together as a powerful bloc. In this bloc the India-Indonesia axis, rather than China, will play the dominant role.

The present leaders of Asia are conscious that it is a race against time. There can be no government without independence, but there can be no stable democracy without education; hence their intense efforts to raise the standard of literacy. This is still the main problem, but technical competence and a greater knowledge of the principles of democracy and administration are also desperately necessary. In ability to teach them these skills the Western powers have advantages that are not possessed by Russia—they know Asia more intimately, they have sources of information denied to the Russians, and have longer and freer contacts. For all the effort the West makes in offering Asia these skills, it will be repaid a thousandfold.

The major task of our generation is the understanding of Asia, for Asia represents potentially the mastery of the world in manpower and resources. We, who are accustomed to think of power precisely in those terms, forget that the riches of the East are as inexhaustible as they were in the times of Columbus. It is true that the mineral deposits of China are less than we had expected, but Indian steel and the unknown elements in the soils of Borneo and Sumatra may yet change the power configuration of the world. Burma's wealth of bauxite is still unexplored. Kuomintang China, financing its war on the export of tungsten and wolfram alone, showed the incalculable power of mineral deposits in the modern Asiatic world. No one can estimate the number of oil wells that have yet to be tapped in Sumatra and Borneo. The East has it in its power to redress the mineral losses of the older world.

Meanwhile, the Asiatics themselves are extremely conscious of their potential power. "We are self-sufficient," said Nehru, "on a scale of which we hardly dreamed." Chu Teh turned proudly to the Yenan arsenal and asked how much of the weapons of war against the Japanese were produced there; then answered his own question: "Nearly all, except those we have taken from the Japanese." The Burmese campaign taught us that the Chinese

peasant has an enviable aptitude for mechanics, and nothing was more heartening for the future of Asia than the spectacle of the Singapore Naval Base before the war, where Malay, Chinese, and Indian mechanics worked in harmony. From a patriarchal agricultural civilization the East can jump fully armed into a democratic mechanized age, retaining much of what is valuable in the older and more graceful civilization that overlaps into our own times.

Everywhere in the East the seeds of liberty and democracy are bearing fruit. The Four Freedoms hang in the schoolrooms of Balinese villages; you will find them in Mongolia, in India, in China. If the revolt of Asia is the greatest and most portentous event in human history, the declaration of the Four Freedoms, whatever the intention of its framers, must be accepted as the greatest deliberate impulse toward the changing of history ever invented.

Today a thousand million people of Asia are still struggling for the barest livelihood. Once that has been assured, the unpredictable strength of these people will begin to sway the world in whichever direction they think best. In the most complete sense, the West will be at their mercy unless it cooperates with them heartily, now and in the future.

The Turning of the Ways

It lies within our power within the next few generations to bring about the marriage of East and West; but this marriage can only come about as the result of certain predetermined conditions:

1. That the Asiatic revolution should resolve the main problems of land tenure.
2. That the revolutionary strength should not be diverted into civil war.
3. That the education of the young should have priority over all other reforms.
4. That they should be able to obtain from the West, under conditions that exclude human exploitation, the mechanics for exploiting the earth.
5. That government should be by representatives elected strictly by secret ballot.
6. That no extremist parties are allowed to gain power, for all extremism invokes the presence of an opposing extremism.
7. That there should be no secret prisons, and the judiciary should be independent of the executive.
8. That minority groups should be allowed to exist unharmed, and that there should be continuing freedom to speak and report without interference of the police.

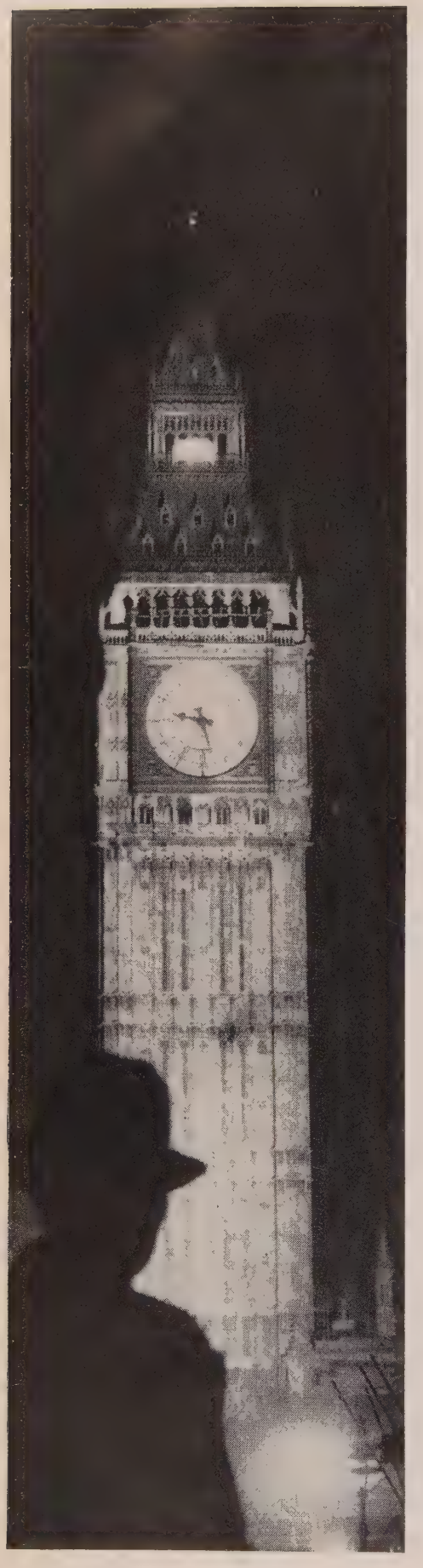
There is not room enough in the present world for colonies. The West should accept the revolt of Asia as a fundamental issue of our times and assist it with all its power. To describe all "leftist" tendencies in the East as the product of Russian leadership would be the grossest folly. What we regard as leftist in the Far East is more often a purely Asiatic expression of the kind of government they desire, with the least possible connections with the forms employed by Russia.

The West Too Will Change

The revolt of Asia will change the pattern of America. With the Pacific becoming the Middle Sea of the world, more trade will flow from the West Coast than from the East, and nothing is more extraordinary than the refusal of Californians to believe that their destiny lies in the Far East.

All existing patterns will change. To the advantage of the West, for a short while, is the presence in positions of power in the East of men who have been educated abroad. Quezon and Osmena were American-trained lawyers, Soekarno, Hatta, and Sjahrir owe their education to Holland, Luang Pradit owes his training to France, Nguyen-ai-Quoc studied in Paris, the two leaders of the Indian conflict were trained in London. Others will follow them who have had no training in the West, and possess no particular sympathies with Western doctrine or Western habits of thought. Neither communism, nor capitalism, nor socialism can be expected to survive for long in their present forms in the East. In the new patterns that will evolve, the emphasis will be on the social struggle, on the emergence of a purely Asiatic society owing much to the West but still more to the native adaptability of the East. A social state unlike any existing social state is coming into being. In all Eastern lands the struggle is the same and will obey, within limits, the same laws. Asia is conscious of herself, and the Asiatic Century has begun.

"TAKING ON COAL" (WOODCUT) BY LIANG YUNG-TAI



LONDON:

"New hat? How did you manage it?" exclaimed a Londoner. "Tonic?" said the chemist—"Where's your old bottle?" Old London, amid its bomb ruins and shortages, is still like that.

I STAYED in London recently with an old friend, one of a very old and famous family. My hostess saw me leave some inferior bacon on my plate. (I had brought it from Ireland.) She turned her back on me and finished it off my plate. "I think it's good," she said. I told an official in Lloyd's Bank that greyhounds in Ireland are fed on mutton chops. "Don't!" he cried, "It's eight months since I saw mutton."

Food was probably never worse. A tart British scientist summed it up when he said that "our food is tasteless, useless and not entirely harmless." The standard bread is bad for weakened digestions. The English, allowed about the equivalent of one hamburger a week, fill up with apparently inexhaustible Brussels sprouts. There's no cream. They eat egg-powder custard! Their bulky meals are seldom satisfying, though in clubs and a few restaurants an occasional meal hits the spot. Some restaurants that were kept open throughout the war have blended staff and clientele into close friends. In these places a big effort is made to provide comfort.

Decent clothes are becoming ever harder to get. They are exported to reap dollars. At home they are strictly rationed. Sanguine visitors may offer five pounds to the doorman at Burberry's but he can't help a bit. Fifth Avenue is where you buy Burberry's. A visitor can't buy even a necktie without a coupon. Londoners in general knuckle under to the rationing. On rainy days they stroll hatless in the wet unprotected by either raincoat or umbrella. It isn't their choice, but hats are scarce, though not rationed. Dunn's on Piccadilly Circus say, "Not a hat, sir. But come tomorrow at 12. We are expecting six," and if you buy one, natives are really impressed. "New hat? How did you manage it?" Women's hats are

Reproduced by the permission of the proprietors of Punch.

"Can I just *borrow* a roll to represent a British strong point?"

RATIONS DOWN, CHINS UP

BY FRANCIS HACKETT *Noted critic, biographer and novelist*

scarcer than ostrich plumes so smart women wear the plumes without hats.

"Six Pencils Since April"

The shortages of 1947 will become legendary. A box of matches has to be wheedled from a hardware man. Most hardware men are crushed flat. "The brush is marked bristle? It's not bristle," one bitter merchant said to me. "I've nothing in my shop but rubbish." I couldn't contradict him.

The dearth of goods is still unbelievable. To keep up the name, for example, Eversharps are advertised. "Do you know what our last consignment was?" W. H. Smith & Sons put it to me. "Six pencils last April." The shortage of glass bottles is another commonplace in England. "Where's your old bottle?" a druggist asked me. "Can't let you have the tonic without a bottle."

Short rations exist in household goods, in clothes, in food, in houses themselves, and the evidence of destruction leaps at you. Six years of war plowed through London and probably uprooted several millions. Homes were blown skywise. Crippling blows fell on the city smashing schools, hospitals, factories, warehouses, harbors, docks, railyards, laboratories, libraries. War work wasn't easy on males or females over 50 and you see sharp signs of it on every street—faces twitching, civilians without arms or legs, nerves out of control. Many wrecks declare themselves in mumblings and stumblings. Those ruthless years are especially written clear in the ravaged features of sensitive elderly women. It isn't possible, it wouldn't be sensible, to make little of London's injuries.

Reproduced by the permission of the proprietors of Punch.

"Now what shall we call the potato soup today?"

Yet, my observation gave me the astonished feeling that the English stood up to it and keep standing up after it. Underneath all, they met the challenge. That's the supreme and enduring fact—a fact of the spirit, no less. London contains seven million personal histories, which casual acquaintances tell about with salt and spice, most of them unforgettable, many of them beyond words glorious.

Educated to a Common Fate

The great city had a prolonged and educative experience. It wasn't atom-bombed. It spread its mortality over years. Because the people shared an experience so prolonged, they were educated to a common fate, and Londoners have to a considerable degree come out of themselves. I found them responsive—easier to get to know, easier to like, easier to share with. An extraordinary human warmth is funded in London, and no matter how alert the business English may be to their own ravenous self-interest, they no longer are closed within it. Most Londoners are alive to something beyond themselves, far more than in the old days. They are less insular, less hidebound, less arrogant, less intolerant, though cruelly harassed, privately and officially.

After Dunkirk—"So Cozy"

The "fierce, proud Englishman" is partially subdued to a new order, and few are openly overbearing about it. This was an out-size war, even for those well acquainted with the ups and downs of history. It was too big for an England so crowded by it, and it has lifted people out of their grooves. One literary man said to me, "I think after Dunkirk was the happiest time of my life. Everything was so cozy, absurd as the word is. We were one people." He was no athlete but he (*Continued on page* 46)

promptly volunteered for manual war work, carrying heavy bags of cement for rebuilding.

The Londoners weren't so poor that they failed to subscribe in a headlong rush to the Franklin Roosevelt memorial. F.D.R. undoubtedly helped to prevent London's extinction, and London's heart still beats for him.

It was a very near thing for London, and is still a vivid horror. The city is over 700 square miles, but much of it is concentrated, and no city-dwellers could be sure of being able to sidestep Goering's earnest efforts. The many people I chatted with, such as one Irish doorman at the British Museum, or Mr. Salby, the Anglo-Danish bookseller nearby, remain forever marvelling at the Londoner's coolness. The Nazis ripped into commerce along the Thames, tore down the financial center and tried to break the government center around Westminster. Huge as London is, it was gashed and scarred all over. But it was never punchdrunk. It generated an amazing community of feeling and its sensitiveness to tragedy released it from all kinds of prewar unreality and evasion.

Privation is no new thing in London, but now it is differently and more evenly distributed. Political power, also more evenly distributed in London than heretofore, has had the palpable effect of spreading self-respect among a whole ground-down population. It has obviously quickened millions. This double consequence of the war, making impoverishment more general and making political power more general, has been worked out with a striking forbearance that goes up and down through the whole body. It signifies a revolution, but the sort that so far has not generated bad blood.

Bomb Shelter Chill

Music is more popular in London than ever before. So is drama. The theaters in London are packed with a new public that appreciates the houses opening at 6:30 or 7:00 and ending the show by 9:30. Playgoers have lost formality. They eat biscuits and ices and drink tea or coffee in the intermissions, smoking if they like. They still have bomb-shelter chill. "It costs me a sixpence," a cloakroom attendant murmured to me, "but, as you ask me, I'd advise you to keep on your overcoat."

Reproduced by the permission of the proprietors of Punch.

"Like to come out and get warm, gov'nor?"

Taking this unconventional life as it comes, Londoners are at once considerate and indifferent to appearence. Their old sense of form has broken down perforce.

No Revolution in Sight

That is a sign of peaceful though radical change in custom, and those who care to study formal politics can show immense changes. But change in temper is vigilantly avoided. Revolution by violence seems advocated by very few. Professor Harold Laski brought libel suit against a conservative newspaper which had implied he advocated violent revolution. I went to the trial to hear Laski stand cross-examination by Sir Partrick Hastings, an old hand with juries. The jury, by the way, suffered shortage too, reduced by war from 12 to 7. The trial seemed to me important not because of Sir Patrick's heavy wallops and Laski's careful retorts, but because the Lord Chief Justice held the balance so scrupulously. It was a costly process for Professor Laski, who lost his case and was set back $50,000. While he was given every opportunity to set forth his views on "revolution by consent," the jury struck me as middle-class men and women who took a dim view of upheaval, and yet were pursuing a non-ideological, extremely cautious course toward a wholly new kind of social balance in England and one that Laski had not anticipated.

Amputation from St. Paul's

The great sight today is massive St. Paul's, standing in bare acres cleared of ruins. At St. Paul's you are able to survey the amputation of a whole district, yet London's will to renew itself stands like St. Paul's over the ruins. No use telling the English they are "bankrupt." They are merely in the red for an indefinite future. What enriches them, however, is their inland past. The historic past is the living tissue of a great city, and London, so mutilated by bombs, is all the more loved by visitors who rejoice over architectural survivors as they mourn over the stricken.

WOMANPOWER

IS A FORCE FOR PEACE

By MRS. J. L. BLAIR BUCK

President, General Federation of Women's Clubs

Checking out cloth from the United States to sewing women in Greece, to be made into new garments for homeless children.

Friendship must precede protocols, says Mrs. Buck. Women have done much for international understanding. Today, with greatly expanded sympathies and growing power, they can do much more

"Our little son was christened Petrus Wilhelmus Maria Joseph, but we call him Peter." writes a mother in Vogelenzang, Holland, to her new friend in Akron. "Now he is four months old and plays with his rattle which grandpa gave him. He wants to stand all day but we are afraid he will get bowlegs." Maybe no man would see in exchanges such as that the beginnings of world cooperation, but sometimes men forget that friendship must precede protocols.

Today 26,000 women in 43 countries outside the United States (Greece, France, Czechoslovakia, India, Poland, Russia, etc.) are writing regularly to American clubwomen. These letters are helping to build a common moral tradition and understanding throughout the world, which is the necessary basis for a real "United Nations." The close-knitting of human hearts everywhere is the force that can keep our children safe.

American women have been at this knitting for some time now—and as they have knitted they have found that their own sympathies have grown and expanded as they discovered that beyond language barriers and beyond the seas there were countless women who felt and thought precisely as they themselves did—that every human individual has importance in the sight of God, and that there must be no human neighborhoods that correspond to "the other side of the railroad tracks."

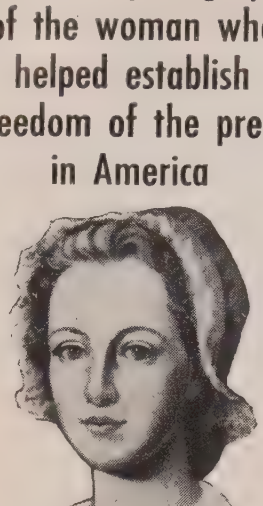
The letters came first, but through the sympathy that has grown out of them many hard-pressed mothers abroad are today receiving regular packages of food, clothing, shoes, even such humble items as darning cotton, important to their families' well-being. In addition, in the postwar period, 12 tons of new cloth went from U. S. women's clubs to the children of Greece: more than $10,000 was raised for the women of the Philippines; as the German armies withdrew from Russian soil, 20,000 kits of soap, towels, bandages, and food, were waiting to go in; more recently educational supplies have gone to China, Ethiopia and Korea.

Just look at the record of some of the states. The women's clubs of Alabama have sent 1,600 packages abroad. Iowa clubs have contributed $1,500 for rehabilitation of schools in the Netherlands and 2,000 yards of cloth with 10 pounds of buttons and needles for the "Marathon Mound" for Greece. Massachusetts women have given $8,003 to help children in China, Greece, Poland, Czechoslovakia, France, Britain, Norway, Russia and Palestine. Pennsylvania women sent several thousand packages abroad and gave $4,000 for the children of Greece. In Montana, where 150 women are corresponding with foreign families, 100,893 pounds of clothing, 1,563 cases of canned goods and 2,500 yards of cloth have been shipped overseas to cement the international ties.

As American women came to know the women of other countries, they naturally felt the need for a greater understanding of the overwhelming world problem that must be met if peoples were to "practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors." Moreover, they came in time to feel that not merely individuals, but the United States of America as a nation,

Women are acting to safeguard the future of babies like these, born prematurely and left at the Foundlings Home in Athens.

The exciting biography of the woman who helped establish freedom of the press in America



Anna Zenger

MOTHER OF FREEDOM

by Kent Cooper

Executive Director, Associated Press

■ This is the story of one of the great unheralded American heroines . . . Anna Zenger, who published an independent newspaper in the Crown Colony of New York under the noses of tyrannous administrators — and got out the news, both sides of it . . . who fought corruption and bribery and indifference . . . and who brought about the spectacular Zenger trial and decision which established freedom of the press in America. $3.75

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WOMANPOWER IS A FORCE FOR PEACE *(continued)*

should act as a good neighbor to all who needed her. This conviction led the more than 17,000 women's clubs in the United States, with a membership of nearly 3,000,000, to support strongly legislation for such things as an adequate appropriation for UNRRA; U. S. membership in the United Nations, in UNESCO and in the International Court of Justice; continuation of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements; and governmental support for the informational and cultural program of the Department of State.

The same desire for effective action led the women's clubs in their own home towns to exert leadership in a plan for cooperation among school and church groups, community organizations and local government, to promote international friendship through study, correspondence, relief and scholarships for foreign students.

A happy ceremony, in unhappy Greece! U. S. women's clubs have already sent 12 tons of cloth for new clothes to Greek children.

Even as the home town approach led American women to the world approach, so their new world viewpoint is leading back to the home town today. In their clubs they are studying international relations, while through the church and school, through youth forums and organizations, they are teaching their children to live with their neighbors, to understand that the moral tradition of America was built by peoples of many races, nationalities and religions.

Such is the past record of American women through their local clubs and cooperating groups. But the battle for peace has not been won; it has in fact only just begun. Too many of our people still give only lip service to the United Nations. I have in mind for instance, people who oppose the Stratton Bill for admission of 100,000 displaced persons a year for four years, out of some 850,000 still herded into the "concentration camps" of Europe where the meaning of human personality is erased. American mothers have been terribly afraid to be generous in admitting these displaced persons, lest they compete for jobs with the young veterans of the United States. I was deeply moved that the General Federation of Women's Clubs, rejecting such an attitude, endorsed the Stratton Bill at its Convention in New York City the last week in June, for I am convinced that the skills these newcomers would bring to the U. S. would enrich our country and increase its employment possibilities. This Bill failed to pass before the Congress adjourned; I believe that as soon as it reconvenes American women must make their moral conviction felt.

Our women have already done a great deal, and can do more, in the way of marshalling public support behind measures for foreign aid and rehabilitation. With women everywhere—in foreign countries, in their home towns—they must seek means of implementing United Nations programs for relief of children. And they need to know more about the activities of the United Nations, which are drawing us all together.

The Federation now has member clubs in 31 foreign nations, but I hope to see many more. I hope, too, that in every club of the Federation a program for the study of international relations will be planned for the coming winter. The more we know, the more successfully we can act.

We must use our freedom to build a world which is safe for all people.

UN politically speaking

About people and happenings in and around the United Nations

By MRS. EVELYN G. KESSEL

Epi-Groms

Collecting "groms" is the latest fad of the boys in the UN press corps. A grom, in case you don't know it, is an unexpectedly clever remark coming from a surprising source. It all began with Andrei Gromyko's famous quip before a Security Council meeting months ago, when asked what was going to happen that day: "Who knows? Perhaps we may even find Langley Collyer!"

Gromyko's latest is even better. When someone remarked that he displayed a great sense of humor in his last speech, the master grommed: "Is that the only sense you found in it?"

Hodgson and Old Silver.

Colonel William R. Hodgson, Australian delegate on the Security Council, is a man whose love for old silver runs a strong second to his love for his children.

"My 21-year-old daughter," he says, "is a wonderful person. She is very beautiful and graceful, and speaks perfect French. Everybody worships her for her charm and culture. She runs my establishment in Paris with five servants, entertains and studies at the Sorbonne.

"My boy has just finished his course at Oxford. He was in the navy for three years, principally around New Guinea. He would not apply for a commission but preferred to serve as an ordinary seaman throughout the entire war."

On the subject of old silver the Colonel is more vulnerable and voluble. I had wheedled him to visit an old friend to look at some pieces. The Colonel calls it "smoodging." The moment he entered the door, he pounced on a George III coffee urn. "Best example I've ever seen," he exclaimed, as he took it apart, spraying his pin-striped trousers with caked silver polish. He spent the rest of the time going over every item, piece by

Col. Hodgson and a prized urn

piece. The Colonel claims that he can date any piece of European silver within five years of its manufacture.

Colonel Hodgson is one of several men at the UN who was reported dead in combat during the First World War. His family had actually held a memorial service for him before his cable arrived from the hospital in Alexandria.

"I guess I'm like an old silver mug. It may get a little battered, but it always turns up."

Delegates' Delight

By all odds the most popular place in the United Nations is the Delegates' Lounge—gray-curtained, with cool green and russet chairs, semicircular sofa, diffused lighting, and a wonderful bar. Head bartender is tall Swedish Gus Erengerth who speaks French, German and English besides Scandinavian languages. He was graduated to the UN from the Plaza and the Ritz.

Biggest seller at the bar is orange juice, with 18 to 20 gallons consumed daily. "We've got to keep one man squeezing oranges all the time," says Gus. All the delegates favor the drink, although the Egyptians prefer a concoction of grape and orange juice.

A blonde English girl named Claire used to be a lounge hostess until an accidental crossing of telephone lines led to an introduction to an American at the other end of the wire. He started taking her home. Now they are married and live happily in Great Neck.

Les Femmes Savantes

Thirty scholarly delegates from the International Federation of University Women attended the UN Security Commission meeting last month.

Because of stringent rationing in their own countries, they all arrived in the U.S. with little more than the clothes on their backs and empty suitcases. In a varied assortment of dresses, hats and shoes provided by the New York university women, the thirty learned cinderellas sat in serried rows during the first session of the council.

They all seemed to want only two things: to meet Andrei Gromyko (who definitely rates as the "glamour boy" of the UN) and to buy picture postcards.

A young criminal prosecutrix of the Scandinavian Court of Appeals told me she was much interested in the stature and attractiveness of the

UN-POLITICALLY SPEAKING
(continued)

delegates. . . . A barrister from Amsterdam marveled at the pretty clothes and hair-do's of the girls working at the UN. . . . A French chemist remarked that each little office with so many nationalities at work in it represented a United Nations in itself. . . . The only woman on the faculty of the University of Vienna exclaimed, "All that luscious roast beef in the cafeteria! It made our eyes pop.". . . She expressed the wish that everybody could see the UN just once. "I can't think of a better way to destroy skepticism about the UN," she remarked. "You can't appreciate the atmosphere until you have experienced it."

Junior Poll of the Month

Impressed by UNW's profound monthly poll of diplomatic opinion, we decided to conduct our own poll on a somewhat less formal basis. We asked 50 people chosen at random throughout New York the following question: Where are the United Nations headquarters?

Here are some typical answers:

Tailor: "At the old World's Fair grounds." (Flushing gets a majority of votes.)

Hairdresser: "Paris."

University of Pennsylvania Freshman: "Dumbarton Oaks."

Polish Housekeeper: "Somewhere on the water—I once read the name."

Bostonian: "At the St. Francis Hotel. San Francisco."

Manicurist: "Moscow—twice a year."

Spanish Teacher: "Casablanca."

Young Lawyer: "I thought it was all vetoed."

Grocery Clerk: "Eh—d'you mean the American or the Russian one?"

School Girl: "Well, lots of places, of course. . . ."

Butler: "Westbury."

Electrician: "Who cares?"

Exterminator: "Lake Success."

Flushed with success, at last, we discontinued our polling.

Ominous Odor

Fastest-selling item in the gift shop in the UN cafeteria is a perfume called "Suspicion."

NOTES FROM THE GRASS ROOTS

• *Greenwich, Connecticut,* the well-to-do community which made uncomfortable headlines by rejecting the UN as a permanent guest, is beginning to cock an interested ear at the idea of world organization. Item: The Greenwich Community Forum, headed by the Reverend Daniel Bliss and Mrs. Alexander Chatin, will hold a UN debate in October that should bring the whole town out. The question: Can the United Nations Unite? Twenty-five extremely diverse organizations belong to the Forum which takes no sides, concentrates on airing the facts . . . Item: Rosemary Hall, select girls school in Greenwich, has asked *UNW's* Speaking Bureau to provide three lectures on the UN this fall and winter. "I can guarantee a good audience," writes Mrs. H. H. Jessup, Headmistress.

• We received a telegram from Elsie Jensen, SW Regional Director of the American Association For the United Nations: "Congratulations on your new department 'UN and the People.' Please hold this section next issue for west coast southwest regional activities. Our grass roots very busy . . ." Watch for it!

• You won't find Hadlyme, Conn., on many maps—but they've already got a "Little UN" functioning, and one fine day this fall the whole Hadlyme "secretariat" will board a *UNW* bus (free to each of them in exchange for a 2-year subscription) to meet the "Big UN" face to face at Flushing Meadows. Organized in Hadlyme by Mrs. Edgerton Parsons, chairman of the Pan-Pacific Women's Association, the "Little UN" plan is the copyrighted brainchild of Mrs. Howard Richardson, known to most program chairmen coast to coast. For details on setting up a "Little UN" write this column.

• Note to organizers: Send for free copy, "Get closer to the UN" which describes what *UN World* can do to help.

• The Stamford Forum of World Affairs, one of the most aggressive young international organizations in the U.S., launched its annual membership drive September 11th, when Pearl Buck, under the joint auspices of *UN World* and the East-West Association, headlined their all-day program. She spoke first before the combined men's clubs, second before High School students and faculty, then before the combined women's clubs.

• "On September 17th and 19th the Detroit Federation of Women's Clubs is inviting eight hundred women to hear an outstanding (man) speaker on United Nations followed by a fashion show and tea," writes Mrs. Zaio Woodford Schroeder, president. On the 17th the (man) speaker will be Prof. Clyde Eagleton, UNW Editor of International Law, and on the 19th, Louis Dolivet, UNW's International Editor.

On the 20th, Dolivet delivers the principal address at the climax of UN week in Cleveland—a luncheon held under the auspices of the world-famous Cleveland Council on World Affairs, which organized the UN week celebration in that city.

• The *Indianapolis Star* does such a land-office business in supplying program assistance for UN study clubs that they keep running out of material.

• Mrs. Fenton Fish, director, Ohio Council of Church Women, saw our display at Antioch, wants it for her State Conference in Columbus, October 1-3. Said she: "We could also use some subscription blanks and other promotional material to introduce your very fine magazine to our church women." It will be a pleasure, Mrs. Fish.

UN WITHOUT LAW

By CLYDE EAGLETON

Professor of International Law, New York University

With scant reference to law in its Charter, no ability to enforce or to make international law and a record of disregarding its own constitution, the United Nations labors in a legal void.

THE lesson of human experience, learned the hard way through the ages, is that peace and justice can be assured only through law and government. Everybody accepts this, even as regards peace among nations, but the big question is how to achieve it. Which comes first, law or order? The makers of the UN Charter, and UN practice, appear to have decided in favor of order.

The Dumbarton Oaks proposals, as amended at San Francisco, did not contain the word "law" at all, and many delegations protested the omission. Through the initiative of the Chinese, "international law" was introduced into the Charter in two places. One of these was a vague statement in Article 1 that one of the purposes of UN was to settle disputes "in conformity with the principles of justice and international law"; the other was in Article 12, which says that one of the functions of the General Assembly is to encourage the development of this law.

Not Compulsory

There is no requirement that disputes, even legal ones, should be settled in accordance with law; the Charter goes no further in this direction than to suggest to the Security Council that it ask the parties to a legal dispute to refer the dispute to the Court. The parties are not obligated to do so.

The Court itself was not given the right to compel states to appear before it with their disputes. Many states, it is true, have accepted such compulsory jurisdiction by agreeing to the "Optional Clause," although in some cases with shocking reservations. The United States, for example, reserved all questions which—"as determined by the United States"—are considered to be domestic.

Again, there is no provision in the Charter for the enforcement of law. The enforcement power of the UN is limited to threats to, or breaches of, the peace. Only if the Security Council thinks that failure to carry out a decision of the Court constitutes a threat to the peace, can it apply sanctions. It is peace, rather than law, which may be enforced.

Finally, the UN can not itself make new international law. The most that it can do in this direction is to draft a treaty stating the law and submit it for ratification by the states. No nation is bound until it has ratified the treaty.

Overriding the Charter

The UN is of course a legal order in the sense of being based upon a legally binding treaty, or constitution, which creates some, though very limited, obligations upon its Members. In practice, however, its Members have not shown much respect for its constitutional law. The Security Council, in the Iranian case, disregarded provisions of the Charter and overrode the warning of the UN Legal Department that they were violating the Charter. The General Assembly, in the Spanish case and in the South African (Indians) case refused to listen to the argument that these were "domestic questions" and also refused to submit this legal point to the Court.

Now, I personally think that the "domestic questions" clause is one of the most obnoxious in the Charter; but is it right to disregard the restrictions of the Charter—to override the Constitution—simply because you do not like them in a certain case? You might be very eager to have their protection if you were the defendant! A certain amount of judicial interpretation and some changes through practice are always desirable in any constitutional system, but if the UN can vote anything it wants to, why bother to have a Charter? The other side of the argument is that the Charter makes progress so difficult that we may be forced to disregard it sometimes.

It is a difficult question, but it seems to me that the scales have thus far been heavily weighted against law, and that the UN is more of a political order than a legal order. Even in the new budget, three times as much is to be spent on charts and posters, four times as much on information from Non-Self-Governing Territories and six times as much on motion pictures as on the Development of International Law!

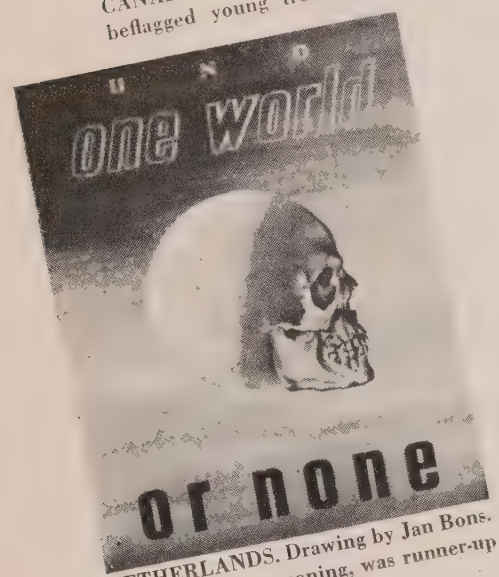
Why is this, when everyone agrees that the only way to peace is through law and government? The answer seems to be that people were so eager for security that they wanted the UN left untrammeled (by law) for the handling of dangerous situations. Also, no nation wants to submit to law—it wants only a law which will operate against the other fellow but not against it. Unfortunately, a law which operates that way is not a very satisfactory law.

Since order was put ahead of law, we might inquire, next month, how far the UN does provide the security for which people asked and which they still desperately crave.

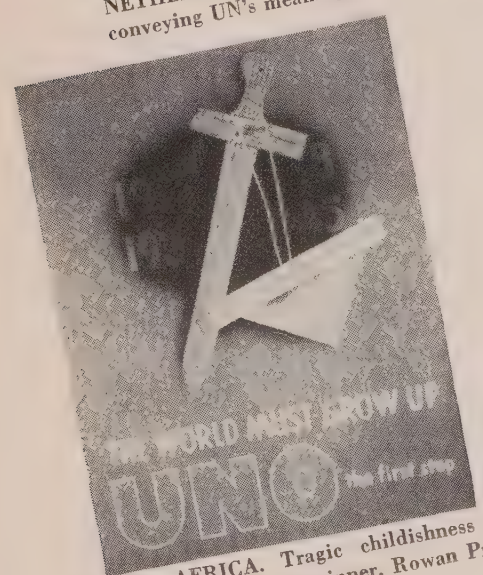
WINNERS: THE UN POSTER CONTEST

This month's UN World cover is a reproduction of one of the most colorful of the posters submitted to the UN for its first annual international poster contest. Here is the story of the contest and its best entry.

CANADA. By Henry Eveleigh. UN as beflagged young tree. won first prize



NETHERLANDS. Drawing by Jan Bons. conveying UN's meaning, was runner-up



SOUTH AFRICA. Tragic childishness of wars inspired 3rd prizewinner. Rowan Prins

FRANCE. Gabrielle Bessis' symbolic drawing of UN flags knotted together—UNW's cover

To gain universal acceptance, the UN realizes that it must utilize every available means to tell the world what it is doing and what it stands for. Part of this job is done by the Visual Information Section of UN's Department of Public Information, which issues posters and makes strip films, movies and other visual aids to popularize the UN.

This spring the Visual Information Section launched one of its most ambitious projects—an annual international poster contest designed to encourage the artists of the world to contribute their talents to the UN and produce a UN "Poster of the Year." The various nations were invited to hold elimination contests at home and to send into the world capital a maximum of three selected posters. By midsummer, over 30 countries had contributed entries.

A panel of seven judges—Sir Norman Angell (U.K.), Alfred Barr (U.S.), Prof. Camile Egas (Ecuador), Josef Havlicek (Czechoslovakia), Dr. Albert Parr (Norway), Chas. Sterling (France) and Dr. Lin Yutang (China)—examined the entries at Lake Success. They picked as "Poster of the Year" and winner of the $1,500 first prize, the poster at top left by Henry Eveleigh, of Canada, showing a pair of hands planting young trees whose leaves are the flags of the 55 member nations. This poster will be ready for issue by the time the General Assembly meets this month and will be distributed throughout the world.

The second and third prize winners, by Jan Bons, Netherlands, and Rowan Prins, Union of South Africa, respectively, are shown at left under the Eveleigh entry. Bons won a prize of $1,000 and Prins $500.

All the other posters shown on these two pages won honorable mention and a prize of $100.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA. "United in War, United in Peace," that is the slogan of poster by Eric Steinmuller

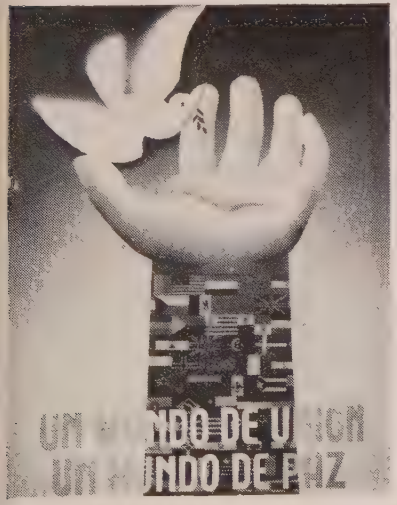
SWEDEN. In this poster by Leif Paulson, the UN is depicted as the vital link in the chain of world unity

CHILE. "Mutual Cooperation" of the world's peoples to insure the peace is called for by Nattino A. Santiago

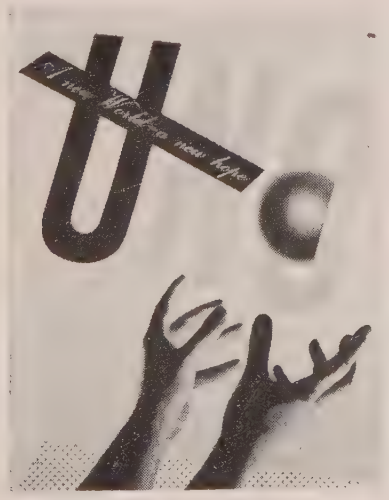
UNITED STATES. UN's message to world—"Your Peace is Our Business." This poster by E. McKnight Kauffer

NORWAY. "For Peace, For Freedom" —provides the theme of Per Mittet's poster, showing the dove of peace

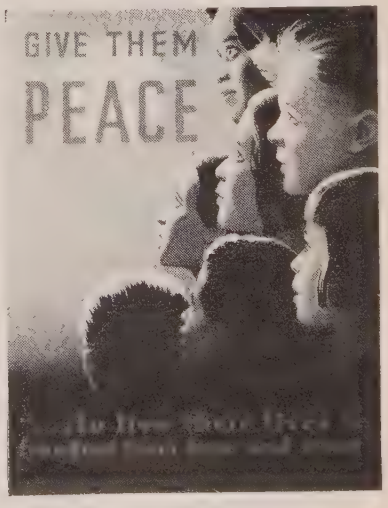
AUSTRALIA. "One World," safeguarded by handclasp of all the people, the work of Stanley V. Davidson



CUBA. "A United World, A Peaceful World"—a striking entry with a flag motif, the work of José Bermudez



UNITED KINGDOM. Mankind reaches out for "A New World, A New Hope" in Leonard Beaumont's poster



NEW ZEALAND. "Give Them Peace"—an appeal for all the children of all the nations, by L. C. Mitchell

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George Goulet

1941 Brut

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WORLD PRESS

THE MONTH'S HIGHLIGHTS FROM NEWSPAPERS OF THE WORLD.

TA-KUNG-PAO

Shanghai, China

Commenting on Wedemeyer's mission to China, this Shanghai independent daily connects it with the hesitancy and confusion of American foreign policy. "When General Marshall's efforts proved futile in China, the Truman Doctrine made its appearance and American world strategy has tended to be anti-Soviet and anti-Communist. The American Far East policy has gradually become one of 'Japan first' while China is being accorded a position of secondary importance. We strongly suspect that the Wedemeyer Mission may ultimately result in a U. S. policy here whereby Japan is considered the principal nation in the Far East and China and Korea given only second place. In this case, China is sure to be invaded and oppressed by Japan again."

EL TIEMPO

Bogotà, Colombia

The United Nations has achieved an indisputable success with the Armistice order quickly and clearly given to the Dutch and Indonesians. . . . It is fitting to question why if all the great powers have subscribed to identical principles—those of the San Francisco Charter—they don't arrive at the same rapid decisions, for example, on the Balkan problem. The answer to this is simple and well known. Opposed to the declared principles stand the interests of contradictory politics, not alien to ambitions of power and expansion."

Avanti!

Rome, Italy

Alfredo Bogardo draws a parallel between the League and the United Nations' powerlessness and thinks that in the latter case it is caused by two factors: the first is that the Anglo-Saxon powers have the certainty of a majority of votes, in any case guaranteeing immunity from sanctions; the second is that the veto power by which the U.S.S.R., which is invariably outvoted, succeeds in blocking all decisions, is really contrary to its own interests. . . . He says: "The United Nations has failed as an international tribunal, but is being used by both sides as a public forum. The only hope for the United Nations to carry on its function as a peacemaker lies in a complete change of program and of methods. Its program of systematic defense of the political and territorial status quo must be changed to one of permitting a gradual evolution . . ."

DAVAR

Tel Aviv, Palestine

The official daily of the Jewish Labor Federation of Palestine brands the turning down of the Palestine Committee's request to defer the execution of the three young Jews and the forcible removal of the refugees of *Exodus 1947* as flouting the UN General Assembly's unanimous resolution calling for the maintenance of an atmosphere of peace during the inquiry. Says *Davar:* "What sincerity is there in the repeated declarations of the (British) government on the need for peace and what is the measure of the weight it gives to the views and anxiety of the international committee which was appointed by 55 nations at the request of that very government?"

Neue Zürcher Zeitung

Zurich, Switzerland

This paper is alarmed by the decision of the International Trade Organization to withhold voting rights in the organization from states which are not members of the United Nations, but which have nevertheless been invited to the Havana Trade Conference in November. It says: "This is a dangerous policy which would ultimately paralyze the world trade organization and we wonder whether Switzerland should accept the invitation at all."

EL MUNDO

Havana, Cuba

Commenting on an interview with an Argentine writer who advocates Latin American unity in the Western Hemisphere, the editor observes: "Col. Juan D. Perón, totalitarian dictator of Argentina, is desirous of forming a Latin American bloc against the United States and Canada, under the hegemony of Argentina. . . . Col. Perón's blindness is astonishing. He does not see that the only thing which can save Argentina herself (and the rest of the Continent), given the present circumstances and the uncertainties of the future, is a frank and inviolable policy of solidarity. From the Cuban point of view, an exclusive Latin American bloc, against all that the North signifies, seems illusory and incomprehensible. . . . It is lamentable that Col. Perón is trying to play international politics . . . at the grave risk of a whole continent."

L'OSSERVATORE ROMANO

Vatican City

"The so-called 'Greek Question' is an incorrect expression of the Balkan problem. Moreover it would be better to say, not that it is tension in the Balkans which might precipitate a clash between the Great Powers, but that the tension between the Great Powers is causing severe tension in the Balkans."

Le Parisien Libéré

Paris, France

"What at the present time is the broad political policy of the Vatican?" asks Pierre Paraf. "Hostility to Communism, to atheistic Marxism remains one of the foundations of pontifical doctrine, of course, but authorized spokesmen insist that the Holy Father draws from this position no ideological conclusions that are hostile to Russia. The Pope opposes those who would force a war to settle the issue. In this respect he is prepared to resist all pressure from whatever country it comes."

The Financial Times

Johannesburg, South Africa

In assessing Britain's economic position and persistent crises John Kingsley sees: ". . . many bright spots which demonstrate the underlying strength of Britain's economy and the resilience and recuperative powers of her industries. Most industries have by now recovered from the heavy setbacks of February and March. Some are breaking the records which they would normally have broken a few months earlier. Among the latest output figures can be noted: Steel production in June running at the rate of 13,206,000 tons per annum. as against 12.684,000 tons in May, 10,190 000 tons in March and 13 111,000 tons in the June quarter of 1946."

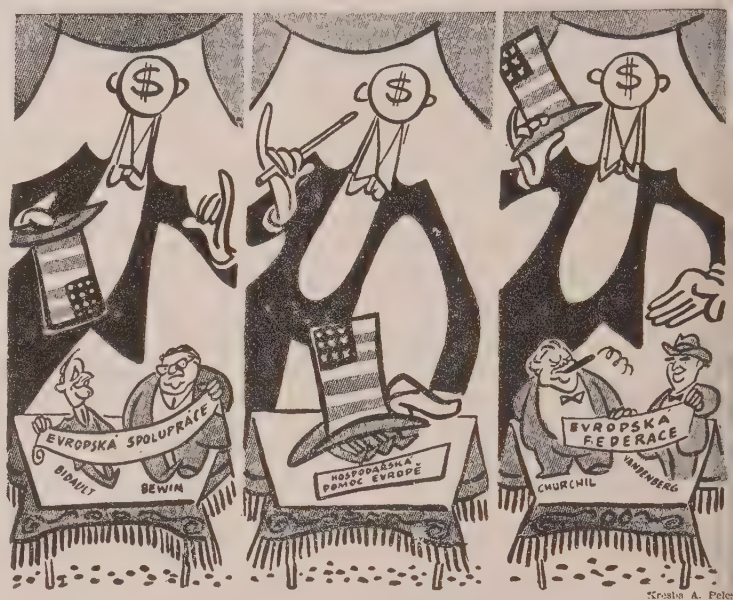
WORLD CARTOONS . . .

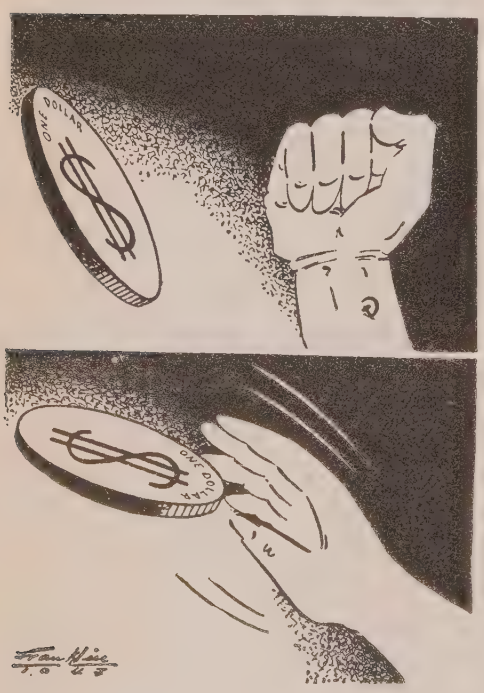
The Marshall Plan

← **ONE THAT GOT AWAY**
THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD, Sydney.

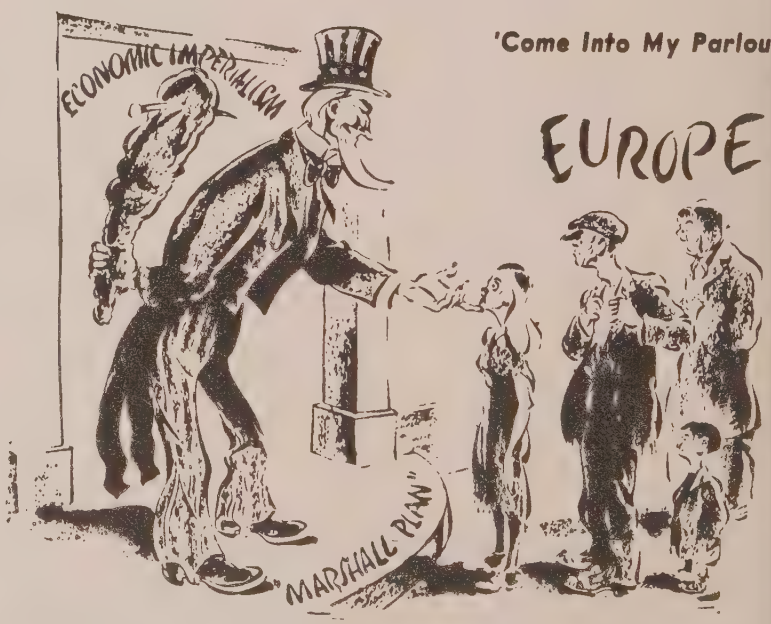
PARIS GALA PERFORMANCE
(Left to right: European Cooperation; Economic Aid to Europe; European Federation).

KULTURNI POLITIKA, Prague.





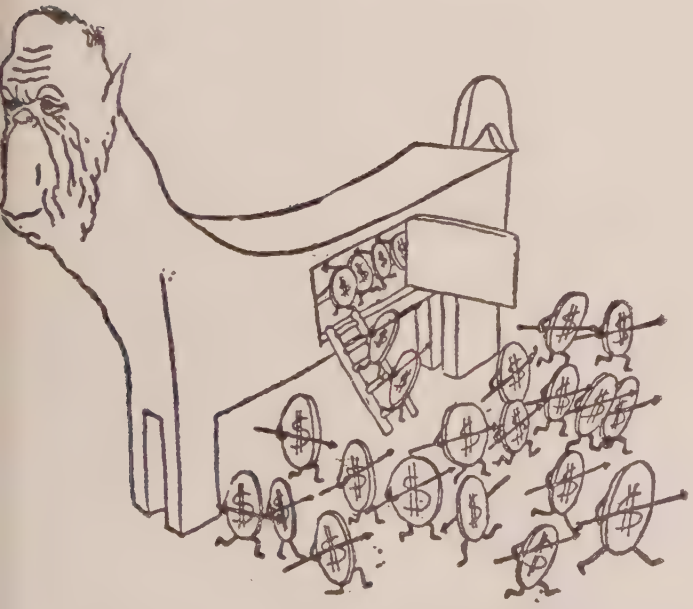
← **THE MARSHALL PLAN**
How to open a clenched fist.
EL TIEMPO, Bogotá.



THE FINANCIAL TIMES, Johannesburg.

DE NIEUWE GIDS, Brussels.

GOLDDIGGERS 1947
DE GROENE AMSTERDAMMER, Amsterdam.

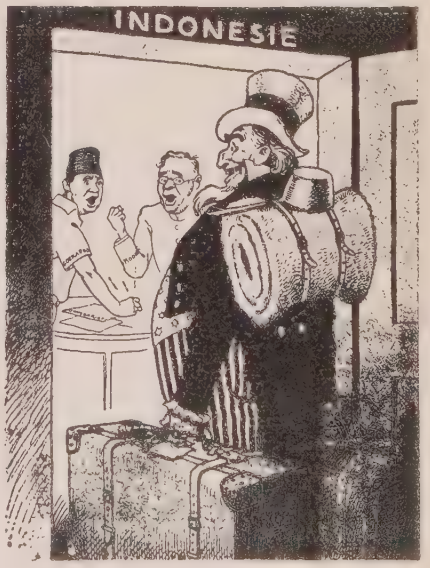


U.S. ASSISTANCE OR . . . THE TROJAN HORSE?
DZIENNIK POLSKI, Krakow, Poland.

The Indonesian Crisis . . .

EL TIEMPO, Bogotá, Colombia.

THE UN COP IS ON THE JOB
WINNIPEG FREE PRESS.



"HELLO BOYS, I'VE COME TO MEDIATE."
DE GROENE AMSTERDAMMER, Amsterdam.

WORLD RADIO

FLASHES FROM THE BROADCASTS OF THE WORLD.

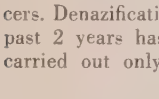
NORWAY

THE REVIVED NAZI NETWORK

Oslo (Norwegian Home Service): "The NTB (Norsk Telegrambyraa) correspondent in Berlin says that there are several secret Nazi organizations at work in Germany today. The police have already discovered twenty. Some of them have been so widespread that they have branches at work in many other places in Europe. Their network has stretched across the Atlantic to semi-Nazi groups in the United States. The members of these organizations are mostly criminals, members of the Hitler Jugend and SS officers. Denazification in Germany during the past 2 years has, to a great extent, been carried out only superficially."

EGYPT

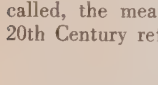
TIME WORKS FOR THE ORIENT



Cairo (Egyptian Home Service): "The East harbors no territorial ambitions as does the West, but desires emancipation. Once it obtains it, it will cooperate with the West on an equal basis for furthering the progress and prosperity of the world. Time and Nature's laws are aiding the East and not the West. Time will eventually abolish imperialism as it did the slave traffic. After abolishing the slavery of individuals, time is now working to do away with the slavery of nations. Imperialism was a thing to be proud of in the 19th Century, but now it has become the shame of the 20th Century. The imperialistic powers try to hide this shame by calling it a "mandate." Whatever it is called, the meaning is the same and the 20th Century refuses to accept it."

AUSTRALIA

GOOD WILL TO TIMOR



Melbourne (in English to Western North America and South Africa): "An exchange of good-will missions between Australia and Portuguese Timor has just been completed. The Portuguese took over part of Timor 300 years ago, but this is the first time Australia and Portuguese Timor have exchanged courtesies. . . . The mission returned a visit by the governor of Portuguese Timor, Captain Raus, to Australia recently. The Australian Minister of the Interior took to Timor a letter of thanks from the Second Commando Association. Members of this unit were isolated there during the war, and cut off from all communications. But for assistance by the residents and the administration of Portuguese Timor, they would have been killed or captured."

IRAQ

ARAB SOLIDARITY

Baghdad (in Arabic to Iraq and the Near East): "The Arab world is following the development of the Egyptian case in the Security Council with utmost interest and concern. The strong cooperation of the Arab delegations to the UN in supporting Egypt and their unanimity regarding the plan to be followed in order to guarantee her victory in the present political battle may be cited as further proofs of the strength of the unity among Arab countries. The Syrian Premier at a press conference said: 'The battle which Egypt is waging now is serious and affects not only Egypt's future but that of all Arab countries.'"

ENGLAND

RISING EMPLOYMENT IN BRITAIN

London (in English to North America): "There has been another fall in Britain's unemployment. The number of workers out of jobs at the middle of June was down to 256,000, that is less than two in every 100 insured workers. The total working population excluding domestic servants was over 20 million, 407,000 more than the figures just before the war. The increase was due to a greater number of women in industry. Workers making goods for the home market numbered 5½ million and there were 1½ million working on goods for export. Building has 10,000 fewer workers than in 1939. Wales and Scotland show the highest unemployment figures."

HUNGARY

UNITY IN THE DANUBE BASIN

Budapest (Hungarian Home Service): Vice Premier Arpad Szakasits (Social Democrat), in a speech to the Budapest Municipal Transport Company, said: "We are witnessing the contest of gigantic forces throughout the world.... We do not want to reform to the past. We are laying the foundations of a new world in which everyone shall find his own happiness and may truly live a life free from fear in complete liberty. Our plan is being coordinated with the economic plan of the other peoples of the Danube Basin and shall thus exclude from it the spirit competition and of nationalism with hatreds."

U.S.S.R.

HOLLAND REMEMBERS PETER THE GREAT

Khabarovsk (Soviet Ho Service, in Russian to U.S.S.R.): "The cities Zaandam and Amsterd in Holland are widely observing the 250 anniversary of Peter the First's arri there. Particularly solemn was the obse ance in the city of Zaandam. The mon ment to Peter the First, which is situat in the center of the city, was decorat with flowers and flags. An exhibition de cated to Peter the First was organized Zaandam. Special sections showing exhib bearing on trade relations between Russ and Holland in the time of Peter the Fir as well as at the present time, have be organized. A special hall displays exhib showing the achievements of the Sov Union. 'The fate of our country,' declar the Burgomaster of Zaandam, 'was alwa linked with that of Russia. Thanks to t courage of the Russian people, who d feated the armies of Napoleon, the Dut were able to free themselves from the occ pation by foreign troops in the past ce tury!' On the day of the anniversary tho sands of people saw the play 'Tsar Pete The flags of the USSR and Holland wave from many windows. Tens of thousands Zaandam citizens flocked into the stree to take part in the celebration."

JAPAN

ECONOMICS VS. THE ARTS

Tokyo (Japanese Hor Service): Reporting Speech by Premier Kat yama on "The Japanese Tomorrow": "We want to be a nati which regards the arts highly. Only by a preciating the arts can a nation raise culture. Of course, we must work hard. Y we should be allowed to enjoy our liv An empty sack does not stand straig Stabilization of our national economic li is, of course, of prime importance. Yet is discouraging to hear people saying: bowl of rice is much more preferable th the new Constitution or a sardine is mo appreciated than women's suffrage.' . . want the people to listen to birds singi when spring comes and to appreciate t beauty of flowers."

WORLD FILES

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184:47 British White Paper on Malaya

July 24, London

Proposes Federation to replace existing Malay Union, to be under protection of Britain, and to be made up of nine Malay states and two British settlements.

185:47 British-Burmese Agreement

July 24, London

1. Arrangements made for transfer of power in conformance with British pledges given last year.

2. Interim Government recognized as Provisional Government until transfer is completed.

(For details, see "World Files," March Issue.)

186:47 Bidault Calls for European Customs Union

July 25, Paris

Informed National Assembly that Marshall Plan made European cooperation a necessity and said that at least a customs union should exist among European nations.

187:47 Greek-Canadian Pact

July 29, Ottawa

Most favored nation trade pact, to last for one year, and continue indefinitely unless terminated on three months notice by either nation.

188:47 British Note to U.S.S.R. Re: German/Italian Property in Hungary

July 29, London

In a note the British Government requested the U.S.S.R. to refrain from taking over further German and Italian assets in Hungary until the other signatories to the peace treaties had determined which of the assets were actually German and/or Italian.

189:47 U.S.S.R.-Yugoslav Trade Pact

July 29. Moscow

A two-year agreement provides for exchange of goods, and some credit extended by the Soviet Union.

190:47 U. S.-Argentine Exchange of Notes

August 1, Washington

In reply to a note of Foreign Minister Bramuglia of Argentina, dated Buenos Aires, July 6, and stating Argentina's concern over maintenance of peace, the need for international cooperation and for international assistance, Secretary Marshall emphasized that the aims of the U. S. have always been those set forth by Senor Bramuglia, and that all U. S. actions have been in accordance with these aims. Assures that the U. S. "will at all times . . . cooperate in a practial sense . . . for realization of peaceful ideals . . ."

191:47 Bulgarian-Yugoslav Pact

August 2, Belgrade

1. Customs Union, abolition of visas, coordination of foreign policies, mutual assistance, exchange of goods and economic cooperation, expansion of railway and communications systems.

2. Calls for concerted action in regard to Greece particularly with relation to the UN inquiry group.

3. Yugoslavia renounces $25,000,000 reparations.

192:47 U.S.S.R.-Polish Agreement

August 5, Moscow

One year trade agreement for mutual deliveries of goods. Poland to export nonferrous metals, cotton goods, sugar, coke, window glass and industrial products. Soviet to sell cotton, iron and manganese ore, iron alloys, oil products, chemicals, and other goods.

193:47 British Pass Economic Control Law

August 7, London

1. To meet emergency situation stringent controls are placed on production, labor, imports, transportation, foreign films (which are taxed 75% of earnings), food, lumber and agriculture.

2. Nationalization of steel industry postponed.

194:47 Indonesian Note to U. S.

August 7, Batavia

1. In reply to U. S. offer of its services in any future negotiations over the Netherlands-Indonesian dispute, "the republic in adhering to the principle of the United Nations is fully prepared to submit to agreement on decisions in which arbitration has been recommended as a primary means of settling the present dispute."

2. Requests U. S. to use influence for an international arbitration commission to be sent to Indonesia immediately.

195:47 U. S. and British Notes Protest Soviet Seizure of Plant in Austria

August 7, Vienna

In notes to Soviet Commander, U. S. and Britain demanded that Soviets return immediately Anglo-American oil refinery seized by them as "German assets."

196:47 U. S. Accepts U.S.S.R. Ship Ban at Dairen

August 8, Washington

The State Department declared that the U. S. has not sent American courier ships to Dairen since March because of U.S.S.R. objection. Supplies to the U. S. consul have been shipped on Soviet ships.

197:47 France Invites 14,000 More D.P.'s

August 8, Bad Salzuflen

Concluded agreement with British zone authorities enabling 14,000 displaced persons to volunteer for work in France.

198:47 British-Hungarian Trade Agreement

August 9, London

Three-year pact provides for increased imports of food to Britain, including bacon, eggs and lard.

199:47 Argentine Ban on Speculation

August 9, Buenos Aires

The Argentine Central Bank issued a decree restricting credit on personal speculative activity which inflates the value of commodities in short supply.

200:47 Anglo-U. S. Zone-Yugoslav Pact

August 12, Belgrade

Long range agreement calling for an exchange of $100,000,000 in goods.

201:47 Chilean Anti-Import Decree

August 12, Santiago

Seventy-nine non-essential items placed on banned list, to conserve $9 000.000 a year in foreign exchange.

202:47 Great Britain and Canada to Accept D.P.'S

Heidelberg and Frankfort-on-Main. August 12

1. Great Britain to accept 20,000 women to work in textile industries, hospitals, laundries, domestic and agricultural jobs.

2. Canada to accept 10,000 to work in lumber and textile mills.

203:47 U. S. Denies Tito Charges

August 13, Washington

U. S. State Department issued a statement denying Yugoslav charges of U. S. discrimination against Yugoslavia in the handling of lend-lease, and U.S. economic blockade against Yugoslavia.

204:47 U. S. Note to U.S.S.R. Re: Korea

August 13, Washington

Refers to past correspondence on Korean situation and expresses concern over the situation there. Refers to Moscow Agreement, and requests report by August 21 under this agreement.

205:47 Soviet Commander in Korea Declines Invitation to Confer with U. S. Commander

August 14, Seoul

Gen. Terentyi F. Shtikov declined an invitation from Maj. Gen. Albert E. Brown to discuss the formulation of a joint report on the deadlock in the joint Korean commission.

206:47 U. S.-Italian Financial Pacts

August 14, Washington

1. Approximately $1.000.000.000 debts owed by Italy to U. S. cancelled.

2. $60.000,000 assets of Italian nationals blocked in the U. S. to be freed upon representation that owners are certified non-fascist and that property will not be turned over to Germans or Japanese.

3. 28 merchant ships to be returned to Italy.

4. Italy to pay $5.000,000 before end of 1947 in claims of U. S. nationals.

5. U. S. to redeem $10-15.000.000 script issued to Italian P.W.'s.

6. Plans for economic treaty to be negotiated in Rome in the fall.

207:47 Trade Pact Between the Netherlands and Yugoslavia

August 15, Belgrade

1. The Netherlands will export ships, electro-technical products, tin, chemical and pharmaceutical products, machinery and seeds to Yugoslavia in return for Yugoslav timber, lead, zinc ore and white zinc and canning materials.

2. The agreement is subject to automatic cancellation if Yugoslav deliveries are not made in one year.

208:47 Marshall Note to U.S.S.R. Rejecting Soviet Proposal for Drafting of Japanese Treaty

August 15, Washington

1. Referred to the Soviet note of July 22, 1947 suggesting that the Japanese peace treaty be considered by the Council of Foreign Ministers composed of U. S., U.S.S.R., Great Britain and China.

2. Stated that the U. S. did not think it appropriate to refer the peace treaty with Japan to the Council for these reasons:

a) Neither the Cairo Declaration, the Yalta decisions nor the Potsdam Declaration gave the Council of Foreign Ministers any authority in connection with the Japanese treaty;

b) Four of the Governments represented in the Council of Foreign Ministers agreed in the Moscow discussions of Dec., 1945, to the creation of the Far Eastern Commission, composed of the members of 11 nations to consider the Japanese peace settlement.

3. Maintained that the U. S. had not acted unilaterally but had approached the other 10 governments concerned on July 11 about a conference. Nine of them had answered the U. S. agreeing to an 11-power conference, and it was hoped the Soviet Union would also agree.

209:47 Marshall Statement on New Position of U. S. Regarding Hemispheric Defense Treaty

August 15, Petropolis

1. The U. S. wants to contribute in formulating an effective treaty and has reviewed its position on obligatory decisions.

2. The U. S. delegation will submit a revised draft of its originally proposed treaty to the effect that the collective measures mentioned in the Act of Chapultepec shall be obligatory on all parties when agreed on by a ⅔ vote, with the exception that the decision to furnish armed forces rests with each individual country.

209:47 U.S.-British Exchange of Notes on Britain's Shrinking Dollar Reserves

Britain to U. S. Aug. 20, London

1. The British Government must take immediate measures to stop the excessive drains on its dollar resources by controlling dollar outpayments.

2. The adjustments can be worked out in consultation with the U. S. within the framework of the financial agreement between the two countries and the International Monetary Fund agreement.

3. The measures taken are of an emergency and temporary nature.

U. S. to Britain Aug. 20, Washington

1. The U. S. appreciates the fact that the action is of an emergency and temporary nature.

2. It notes with satisfaction the assurance of the United Kingdom that it can work out this action within the framework of the financial agreement, and its intention to consult with the U. S.

210:47 U.S. Note to U.S.S.R on Bulgaria trial

August 18, Washington

1. The U. S. has followed the trial of Nicola Petkov and "is concerned to prevent what . . . appears to be a gross miscarriage of justice."

2. Under the Yalta Agreement the three powers in the Allied Control Commission (U. S., England and Russia) have primary interest in the political structure of Bulgaria, whose stability this sentence might threaten.

3. The U.S.S.R. should "instruct the Bulgarian Government" immediately to suspend Petkov's sentence until the Allied Control Commission can review the case.

Note: A similar request was sent by Britain to the U.S.S.R.

THE WORLD BOOKSHELF

U. S. BOOKS FOR WORLD READERS

By MERLE MILLER
Assistant Editor of Harper's Magazine

A report of the best books published on world affairs since the General Assembly's last meeting.

Since the end of the war, there ave been scores of books on interna- onal affairs, on postwar govern- ients, on Germany, Russia and hina. To date, none has had any- here nearly so wide a readership or ie intellectual impact of the impor- ant prewar books, mainly, because ie picture is not so simple now.

JN, Atomic Energy, World Government

n its official capacity, the United lations has published a library of ocuments, records and reports on s activities, but not many outside ooks are exclusively devoted to the JN. Outstanding among them for ob- ectivity, clarity and usefulness is ouis Dolivet's *The United Nations, a Handbook on the New World Organ- ation*. Another good book, well doc- mented for reference, is *Charter of ie United Nations: Commentary and Documents* by Leland M. Goodrich nd Edward Hambro, published by ie World Peace Foundation. Appro- riate to include also is the July, 947, issue of *The Annals of The merican Academy of Political and ocial Science*, which under the title *rogress and Prospects of the United lations*, devotes its whole contents to ie UN. Two books for juveniles have ecently appeared: *How the United lations Works* by Tom Galt and an excellent book for younger children, Lois Fisher's *You and the United Nations*.

The books on world government and on the implications of atomic energy have been enormous; most of them have been well-written, well-reviewed and have sold practically not at all—a few thousand at most. Dr. Harrison Brown, himself an atomic scientist and a world government enthusiast, titled his readable little volume, *Must Destruction Be Our Destiny?* Dr. Brown thought an affirmative answer was possible, but probably would not happen. William L. Laurence, the distinguished science reporter for the *New York Times* who was chosen by the War Department to write the early press releases on the frightening miracles of Los Alamos, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, called his book, *Dawn Over Zero*. It was a brilliant reportorial and analytic job, but the general public seemed to be singularly uninterested.

Of the books which found world government not only a dream, but a practical necessity, the best seems to me Emery Reves' tense, logical *The Anatomy of Peace*. Leland Stowe is a shrewd, earthy, foreign correspondent whose own experiences and observations led him to Mr. Reves' conclusion, namely that the job must be done *While Time Remains*. E. B. White, whose comments in *The New Yorker* have for years been delighting readers of that brilliant, brittle weekly, collected his thoughts on world government into *The Wild Flag*. Harris Wofford, a young man, wrote a young but thoughtful book about the place of American youth in the fight for world law and called it *It's Up to the Boys*. I. A. Richards, using basic English and some delightful primer-like illustrations, told the world government story in an almost unknown book called *Nations and Peace*. This fall Cord Meyer, Jr., the youthful head of the United World Federalists Organization, will publish his own analysis of the world scene and the chances for an over-all law-enforcing international government, *Peace or Anarchy?*

Books on Russia

Practically every publisher has had a book on Russia on his list. The best, it seems to me, have been John Fischer's *Why They Behave Like Russians;* Edgar Snow's *Stalin Must Have Peace;* Vera Micheles Dean's *Russia: Menace or Promise*, and Edward Hallet Carr's *The Soviet Impact on the Western World*. Mr. Snow, quite frankly, presents the Russian case, and he does it well; he has not given up hope; war between the so-called East and the so-called West is not, he thinks, inevitable. The Russian leaders, are convinced, he writes, that a depression will occur in the U. S. in the next few years and, when it does, a Fascist, anti-Soviet government will take charge in Washington. Hence, the doctrinaire Russians assume an aggressive, chip-on-the-

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shoulder Kremlin policy quite logica
ly follows. Mr. Fischer is not very cle
about a solution, but Mrs. De
is. She does not think the we
ern democracies will get very far
they are merely anti-Communist; s
believes they will have to prove to t
people of the world and to themselv
that it is possible both to be free a
to eat three square meals a day.

I suppose Dr. Carr comes as clo
as any of the four to being what c
so easily be dismissed as a "Sovi
apologist." But his cogent argume
that the West, including the U.
owes a genuine debt of gratitude
the Soviet revolution, is extreme
convincing.

Inside Germany and France

As for Germany, almost every we
there has been a new book
what is taking place in that hungr
now strangely humble, but not nece
sarily repentant, country. W.
White, whose middle-of-the-war *R
port on the Russians* caused a gre
many honest people to question h
patriotism, spent six weeks in Ge
many (although he *was* there on tw
previous visits) and, naturally, turn
out *Report on the Germans.* M
White's to me sound thesis is that n
all Germans can be blamed for t
Nazis, but, somehow, he's a little t
slick, not quite convincing. James
Warburg's *Germany: Bridge or B
tleground*, says the same thing, sa
much more and says it immeasurab
better; so does Russell Hill in wh
to me is the best book on the postw
Reich, *Struggle for Germany.*

A. J. Leibling's collection of
sistance writing in France, *The R
public of Silence*, is as readable a
inspiring and wonderful a volume
assorted short stories and essays a
editorials as you are likely to fi
anywhere, and it says something th
I think can never too often be
peated, namely that men can hope
and fight—when there's no chance
winning. The usually obscure, f
quently anonymous authors of the
pieces knew that—and many of the
died knowing that, but still fightin

Far Eastern Reports

As for the Far East, two books sta
out especially, in my opinion, E

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mond Taylor's magnificent *Richer by Asia* and *Thunder Out of China* by Theodore White and Analee Jacoby. Of the two, I prefer Mr. Taylor's humble and thoughtful, if at times verbose, account of what he learned about a continent and a people whose elderly civilization is rarely understood. Although there are more books about China than about any other Asiatic country, *Thunder Out of China* is one of a handful which is both comprehensible and objective.

The books I've mentioned are only a few of the many on world affairs and the world's peoples published during the last two years. There have probably been a dozen others equally important. I happen not to have read them. I assume no one who wants to understand something of our time will miss D. C. Somervell's one-volume abridgement of Arnold J. Toynbee's *A Study of History*, probably one of the two or three most significant volumes of the decade—or the century.

BOOKS FROM EVERYWHERE

THE RIGHT TO FLY by John C. Cooper. New York, Henry Holt & Co. $5.00.

Carefully documented, this searching analysis of the fundamentals of air power is intended as a warning that aviation must be controlled in the interest of world security. Mr. Cooper is well informed on his subject, both as an expert on aeronautical law and as an airline official. He defines air power as "the ability of a nation to fly." Whether civil or military, air power is indivisible and "will continue to exist as long as a nation has the *right to fly*." In his opinion the failure to recognize that civil and military aviation are one accounted for the rise of the Luftwaffe. "The world cannot afford in 1947 to make the same mistakes that the Paris Peace Conference made in 1919."

Since 1919 there has been an agreement that each nation controls its own air space and "no other nation can question its right to do so." Mr. Cooper suggests that each nation must voluntarily surrender some of its rights to fly for the protection of all. But the difficulties and intricacies of the problem and how it can be handled offer a dilemma for the Security Council to solve. The reader is left with a gloomy outlook. But in the final test, the real solution of aviation, as well as of the whole crisis before us, rests in the hearts of men.

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William Henry Chamberlin, admired one extreme and equally disliked at other for his views on Russia, sets do his observations, prophecies and conc sions, based on a four months' visit Europe in the summer and fall of 19 His picture of desolation, confusion a hopelessness almost everywhere agrees w that of other reporters. Switzerland a Sweden stand out as bright spots on dark horizon, and he finds Belgium comi up. The detailed chapters on life a politics in Britain, France, Germany a Italy are well worth reading.

But the real emphasis throughout book is placed on Communist influer inside Europe. For this Chamberlin blan the U.S. policy of "appeasement" to Rus during the war. Were he a sculptor, c could see him carving out a monumen and accusing statue, "The Rape of Balkans—Plus," as a solemn warning the world at large and to the U.S. particular. He says that Russia has gain more from the war than any other cou try. By the latter part of 1946 Russia h control over 10 countries with an area more than 600,000 square miles and a po lation of more than 100 million peop The mistakes in U.S. policy are not, ho ever, "irretrievable." The urgency, acco ing to Chamberlin, is for the United Sta and Britain to help "federate that part Europe which is outside the Soviet orbi

THE BRAZILIANS, People of Tomorro by Hernane Tavares de Sá. New Yo John Day Co. $3.00.

Here is a book about Brazil for whi we have been waiting. It is neither sup ficial nor academic. It presents facts wi out pedantry and pushes no propagan Moreover, it is easygoing in its pace, ent taining and informing at the same tim Dr. Tavares continually brings in hum little stories out of his own experienc and observations to illustrate his poin His family landed in Brazil in 1532, a he combines a background of affection tradition with the urgency of reform.

No one except a Brazilian could wr so intimately of the character and spi of the people, and probably few Brazilia could analyze their countrymen's virtu foibles and weaknesses so objectively Tavares has done. Brazil's institutions, bu around the family, the Catholic Churc the unity of language and racial toleran are faithfully described, but as lighter i terludes there are such chapters as Ri famous Latin Quarter boardinghouse a the delicious account of Dom Pedro I visit to the United States in 1876. Tavar speaks of the resources of the great u developed hinterland, he is caustic abo the government and how little it does the people, but he burns up with indign tion at the appalling illiteracy and pover "All the problems can be made to vani quickly," he says, "if the country finds itself the strength and determination challenge them." With courage and visi balanced by humor, Tavares brings to t reader a real and very appealing Brazil.

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